REPORT RESUMES

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A STUDY OF THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN SELECTED BRITISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS. FINAL REPORT.

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THIS STUDY REPORTS AN INVESTIGATION OF CURRICULAR AND CLASSROOM PRACTICE IN TEACHING ENGLISH IN 42 SECONDARY PROGRAMS IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND WALES, SELECTED AS OUTSTANDING BY A PANEL OF BRITISH SPECIALISTS. THROUGH SCHOOL AND CLASSROOM VISITATION, INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS AND STUDENTS, QUESTIONNAIRES, AND RELATED CASE STUDY METHODS, 10 AMERICAN SPECIALISTS ON ENGLISH AND ENGLISH EDUCATION COMPARED PRACTICES WITH THOSE PREVIOUSLY OBSERVED BETWEEN 1963 AND 1965 IN 158 SELECTED AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMS (COOPERATIVE RESEARCH PROJECT 1994). THE FINDINGS, INTERPRETED IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN BRITISH EDUCATION, COMPARE BRITISH AND AMERICAN PRACTICES IN SEVERAL AREAS--THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF SECONDARY ENGLISH PROGRAMS, LITERATURE, COMPOSITION, LANGUAGE, SPEECH AND ORAL ENGLISH, DRAMA, AND TEACHER EDUCATION. AMONG MAJOR DIFFERENCES REPORTED IN BRITISH SCHOOLS ARE A LACK OF CONTINUITY AND STRUCTURE IN OVERALL CURRICULUM DESIGN, EMPHASIS ON CREATIVE AND EXPRESSIVE ACTIVITY, DE-EMPHASIS ON ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE, INCULCATION OF FAVORABLE PUPIL ATTITUDES, AND SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS FOR NONACADEMIC PUPILS. (POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS FOR AMERICAN PRACTICE ARE DISCUSSED THROUGHOUT THE REPORT.) (AUTHOR)

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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Final Report

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A Study of the Teaching of English in Selected British Secondary Schools

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February 28, 1968

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

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PREFACE

This study is not a comprehensive description of the teaching of English in representative schools in England, Scotland, and Wales; such a report would require far more exhaustive data than is presently available or easily obtained. Like the National Study of High School English Programs in the United States, from which this investigation is derived, the study is rather a description of practices in teaching English in schools with outstanding reputations, particularly those thought to be at the cutting edge of the profession. Almost certainly a report reflecting teaching practices in all British schools would reveal the effect of more conservative traditions than were found in these institutions. In travelling the length and breadth of the United Kingdom, project staff members heard of such conservative schools, but few were included in the list of schools to be visited. Yet if this report slights the more common programs to be found in Britain, it surely is a description of innovative programs as they are presently emerging and of many others soon to be. The pacesetting institutions in Britain differ from those visited earlier in American in a most significant way--they are embued with a radical, almost evangelical philosophy of reform which threatens to sweep earlier academic traditions from the schools. In the United States the outstanding programs seemed to differ qualitatively from those of other less distinguished schools, but essentially the schools were organized to achieve the same ends. In the United Kingdom, the pacesetting schools seemed determined to alter both the ends and means of instruction. This report then deals with English teaching as it presently is in many of the most influential institutions, and if the findings surprise some who visited or attended schools as recently as a decade ago, the discrepancy between what was and what is reflects the strength of the reform movement currently sweeping through British education.

This report presents an interpretation of trends and tendencies seen in a great variety of institutions, not a description of any single program. Far more than American secondary schools, each British institution seems to have a unique character of its own, and it was this very diversity which first impressed American observers. But as school followed school during the field visits, the initial impression of diversity gradually yielded to an awareness of certain basic similarities, and it is the common national tendencies which are largely reported here. In so dwelling on national characteristics, much of the uniqueness and authenticity of reports on individual schools has been lost and British educators, who are not wont to travel widely to compare and contrast their own institutions, may feel justifiably that some distortion has occurred. Still, the directors of the study believe that the discussion which follows presents an accurate portrait of what is happening in secondary English in Britain today. The remarkable, even stunning differences between instruction in these schools and instruction in the United States provided at times an electrifying experience for the visiting Americans, as observer comments preceding each section to follow will indicate. American teachers may respond to this report of British practices and attitudes with shock or disbelief. Still, teachers of English in both nations need greater awareness of what one another is doing if the differences in attitude and approaches are ever to serve as an outside corrective or touchstone against which to assess the developing programs within each country.

The directors of the study are deeply appreciative of the gracious hospitality of teachers, department chairmen, headmasters, and local education authorities who cooperated warmly and willingly in every possible way. Without the generous cooperation of the many British advisors and consultants any valid interpretation of findings would have been impossible. Yet in no way are these individuals responsible for the subjective and cumulative observations in this report. Without the assistance of American observer-consultants, each one of whom looked on the programs from a somewhat different point of view, the report would be far less rich and the field visits far less rewarding. The directors themselves assume full responsibility for the overall interpretations, but the general impressions of observers seem sufficiently incisive that they are reproduced in Appendix B.

Three individuals contributed substantially to the total study: Mrs. Olga Robinson, project secretary and administrative coordinator at the Illinois office; Margaret Osborne, director of the London office; and Arthur Applebee, editorial assistant. Strong support was also provided at various times by Gregory White, Jonathan Corbin, Leon Kelly, and by Linda Horne in Champaign. The directors also acknowledge their appreciation to administrative officials at the University of Illinois, whose interest, support, and willingness to engage in complex manipulations to free staff members during a university semester made the study possible. Particularly we thank A. Lynn Altenbernd, Head, Department of English; Robert W. Rogers, Dean, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences; and Rupert Evans, Dean, College of Education.

This study of English teaching in the United Kingdom, like the earlier National Study in America, is cosponsored by the National Council of Teachers of English, whose Executive Committee and national staff continuously exhibited keen interest in the potential outcome.

To the directors, the study from the beginning has been a fascinating exercise in probing the depths of American as well as British education, for in studying English teaching in these schools they have learned much more about their own. No British reader of this report should mistake this criticism and questioning for a lack of sensitivity to and appreciation for what is being accomplished in the United Kingdom. No American reader should infer that a thoughtful observer could remain unmoved by the striking contrasts in content, approach, and style of teaching confronting the visitor to England. English programs in these schools are powerful programs and they are based on powerful ideas. Americans concerned about the restoration of excitement and exploration to the teaching of language and literature in their own schools should ponder seriously the wellsprings of these ideas and their potential for regenerating teaching in this country.

J.R.S.
R.K.A.

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SUMMARY

The study of practices in teaching English in 42 selected secondary schools of England, Scotland, and Wales is an extension of an earlier report on 158 high schools in the United States visited from 1963 to 1966. Basic assessment procedures, including the use of instruments developed in the American study, were modified only slightly for application by ten experienced observers, the majority of whom had also participated in the earlier project. The 42 schools visited in England, Scotland, and Wales were selected by a panel of British advisors as institutions with outstanding reputations in English. Varying in size, location, and socio-economic composition of the student body, the schools also reflected varying patterns of independent and state-supported education. The final report presents a composite portrait of the teaching of English in some of the most influential institutions in the British Isles and demonstrates how the spirit of educational reform, which has affected British education for at least the last ten years, is today influencing instruction in a particular subject area.

General findings are discussed with respect to specific aspects of the teaching of English: the organization and administration of departments; curriculum development and classroom method; the teaching of literature, language, composition, oral language, and drama; and teaching conditions and teacher education. In every case practices in the United Kingdom are compared and contrasted with those found in the previous study of programs in the United States.

Startling differences in the teaching of English in America and Britain were found to reflect basic differences in attitudes toward the subject, the student, and the nature of learning. Differences in the organizational patterns of schools also affect classroom and curricular practices. The freedom both of individual teachers and schools to develop programs during the early secondary years is offset by a rigorous imposition of national external examinations which largely dictate what shall be taught during the final years. Although the extreme selectivity of British education is yielding before intense social pressure, opportunities for advanced secondary education for all boys and girls are still less open than in the United States. Still, the programs developed in secondary modern and comprehensive schools have led British teachers to a careful examination of the nature and purpose of education for low achieving pupils and practices in the classroom seem generally more successful than similar programs observed in the United States.

The teaching of English is marked by great emphasis on classroom situation and pupil response. Less concerned with the structure of knowledge or with the literary tradition than are Americans, the teachers place high premium on the engagement of pupils in classroom work. Imaginative writing, improvisation, dramatic activity, and informal classroom discussion are stressed. Programs in literature emphasize contemporary writers to whom the pupils will immediately respond; drama and poetry receive more attention than in American schools. Few schools organize formal programs in language and most teachers see fluency and the frequency of oral and written expression, rather than the study of language or exercises in correction and revision, as fundamental to pupil growth. So sharply do the major strengths of these new British programs differ from emerging practice in the United States that the contrast provides a unique opportunity for American educators to assess their present work in the light of successful programs based upon radically different assumptions and concerns.

CHAPTER I

THE PURPOSE AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY

During the past decade professional leaders have vigorously promoted improvement in the teaching of English in American high schools. More than twenty curriculum study centers located at universities throughout the country have been developing new curricula; the United States Office of Education has supported hundreds of institute and fellowship programs for teachers; and the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) and the Modern Language Association of America (MLA), the two major societies concerned with English teaching in the United States, have jointly and independently in a long series of projects and programs sought a reappraisal of ends and means in teaching and teacher education.

One of the major projects was the National Study of High School English Programs, an attempt to describe the practices in high schools reported to have been unusually successful in graduating outstanding students in English. Directed by James R. Squire and Roger K. Applebee, the National Study was cosponsored by the National Council of Teachers of English and supported by the Cooperative Research Bureau of the United States Office of Education. The final report, *A Study of English Programs in Selected High Schools which Consistently Educate Outstanding Students in English*,[1] is based on case studies of 158 high school English programs in 45 states and presents the findings and conclusions reached by a four-man project team assisted by a national advisory panel and seventeen observer-consultants who participated in the field visits. An edited, non-technical report is being published during 1968.[2]

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[1] James R. Squire and Roger K. Applebee, *A Study of English Programs in Selected High Schools which Consistently Educate Outstanding Students in English*. Cooperative Research Report No. 1994. (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois, 1966).

As they searched for more effective ways of approaching instruction in the schools, professional leaders gradually became aware of ideas emerging in England. Summer tours of American teachers to Great Britain sponsored by the National Council of Teachers of English brought reports of new procedures worth investigation. British publications on the teaching of English stimulated increasing interest, even as the formation of the National Association for the Teaching of English (NATE) during the early Sixties provided teachers in that country with an effective national voice. In 1964, the Chairman of NATE participated in the annual convention of the NCTE in Cleveland; as a result, twelve British specialists in English joined Americans and Canadians at an exploratory international conference held the following year in Boston. During the summer of 1966, David Holbrook, an articulate spokesman for reform in British schools, participated with the directors of this study on the summer English faculty of an NDEA institute at the University of Illinois. His refreshingly different views alerted the investigators to recent U.K. experiments with creativity. Finally in 1966 NCTE, NATE, and MLA convened (with financial support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York) the month-long Anglo-American Seminar on the Teaching of English at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire. The discussions revealed substantial and important differences between the attitudes toward English of teachers in England and America and suggested the potential significance of a comparative study.

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[2] James R. Squire, Roger K. Applebee, and others, High School English Instruction Today: The National Study of High School English Programs. (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1968).

The four-year National Study of High School English Programs had developed and tested a battery of approaches and instruments useful in a comprehensive assessment of high school English programs. Pilot visits by the director of this project to two British secondary schools in London during November 1965 suggested that in all essential ways these approaches would be equally rewarding if applied to British schools. As a further encouragement, it was found that a number of the observers who had participated in the National Study would be available to conduct field observations for extended periods of time during the spring of 1967.

The selection of schools in Britain posed special problems. Data on such aspects of the program as the number of graduates cited for excellent work in English or the success of graduates in English at neighboring universities--essential to the selection of schools for the National Study--were not available on schools in the United Kingdom. Rather it proved more feasible to rely on the recommendations of leading British teachers and specialists in English Education, who were asked to suggest for observation a variety of secondary schools with programs consistently producing outstanding students in English. From the nominations of a panel of British specialists chosen to represent varying attitudes toward teaching and varying kinds of experience, some 42 institutions were selected for observation on the basis of criteria similar to those employed in the National Study: excellence of the program's reputation, size of the school, socio-economic characteristics of the student population, and geographical location. In addition, care was taken to ensure that the major patterns of school organization in England and Scotland would be represented: comprehensive, grammar, secondary modern, and public (independent) schools were all included. The names of the cooperating schools are presented in Appendix C.

The instruments and approaches developed in the National Study were reviewed by the advisory panel of British specialists and modified as needed for use in British schools. A few instruments which had not yielded significant data in the American study were abandoned, but the basic approaches varied not at all. Through class observation, individual and departmental interviews, group meetings with pupils, and the use of specially designed questionnaires and checklists, the investigators were to secure data which could be compared directly with that already obtained in America.

The Anticipated Findings

To guide observers and to provide a focus for the final report, the investigators postulated eight major differences between English teaching in the schools of the United Kingdom and those of the United States; these were the result of pilot visits to two London schools (one a comprehensive school and the other a grammar school), a study of recent publications written by British teachers, and conversations with British specialists. The specific efforts made to focus the attention of observers on these concerns are indicated in the *Handbook for Visitation and Observation* presented in Appendix E. However, in considering any particular aspect of the program, the investigators were guided by the combined findings of all interviews, observations, and questionnaires, rather than by the reports of observers alone.

Anticipated Differences in British English Programs

(a) A de-emphasis on teaching formal "subject matter" or "content" in English classes in the United Kingdom as compared with the practice in American schools.

(b) A greater concern in Britain with student response to literature and a corresponding lessening of concern with the planned study of great works and great authors. (In view of the widespread assumption that the British educational programs have produced "a nation of book readers," verification of this difference could raise some interesting questions concerning practices in the United States.)

(c) A greater emphasis in the United Kingdom on the creative uses of language (creative writing, dramatics, and similar student endeavor).

(d) A greater stress in the United Kingdom on the teaching of expository writing in all content areas of the curriculum, rather than in the English classroom alone.

(e) Comparatively little attention in Britain to formal instruction in rhetoric and in the English language (including grammatical analysis).

(f) Greater emphasis in British schools on the teaching of speech and oral English.

(g) Less communication in Britain than in the United States between high school teachers and scholars in university and college departments of English, with corresponding differences in preservice and continuing education of teachers of English.

(h) Greater reliance in Britain on the use of external examinations to control the quality of offerings; correspondingly less emphasis on prescribed courses of study and textbook adoptions for this purpose.

Related Research

Despite continuing interest in comparative education in the United States and the informal comparisons made by such individuals as Rickover,[3]

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[3] Hyman G. Rickover, Education and Freedom. (New York: Dutton, 1959).

Strickland,[4] Featherstone,[5] and others, most comparative studies of British and American schools deal with the general organizational structures, overall purposes of education, or the relationship of education to the total social structure. Though the two countries share a common language, no detailed study of the teaching of English in Britain and the United States has yet been published.

A number of status studies on British English teaching have appeared in England during recent years, of which the more influential are probably the Crowther report,[6] the Newsome report,[7] and the Plowden report.[8] These deal, however, with the present situation in all subject areas, as well as with recommendations for future developments. Except through occasional allusions, the reports make no reference to education in the United States.

During the spring of 1965, George Allen, then chief staff inspector for the British Ministry of Education, spent thirty days visiting American schools and curriculum centers throughout the United States. His report, although personal and subjective, suggests certain general differences and similarities.[9] His experience as a school inspector gives Allen's comments an unusual depth.

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[4] Ruth G. Strickland, "What Thou Lovest Well Remains," _College English_ XXII (February 1961), pp. 297-304.

[5] Joseph Featherstone, "Schools for Children: What's Happening in British Classrooms," _New Republic_ (August 19, 1967), pp. 17-21; "How Children Learn," _New Republic_ (September 2, 1967), pp. 17-21; "Teaching Children to Think," _New Republic_ (September 9, 1967), pp. 15-19.

[6] Ministry of Education, _15 to 18, a report of the Central Advisory Council for Education_, Volumes I and II. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1959).

[7] Ministry of Education, _Half Our Future, a report of the Central Advisory Council for Education_. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963).

[8] Department of Education and Science, _Children and their Primary Schools, a report of the Central Advisory Council for Education_, Vol. I. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1967).

Basic information concerning English teaching in British and Scottish schools is also found in publications of the Schools Council and the Scottish Education Department, and in two periodicals, The Use of English and English in Education, official publications of the National Association for the Teaching of English. For the most part these articles and monographs present recommendations for the schools and reports of teaching practice rather than detailed research findings.

The report of an invitational conference on the teaching of English in Britain, Canada, and the United States, held in Boston in November, 1965, also illuminates fundamental national differences.[10] (The director of the present study presided at the Boston meeting.) Of even greater value are The Uses of English[11] and Growth through English,[12] two recent reports on the Anglo-American Seminar at Dartmouth College. These books, however, discuss agreements and disagreement in viewpoints of American and British participants rather than practices actually observed in the classroom. Considering the common enterprise on which British and American teachers of English are engaged, the absence of comparative studies is striking indeed.

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[9] George Allen, "Report on Observations of English Teaching in the United States," Report to the Ministry of Education, 1965 (mimeographed). Partially reproduced in Robert F. Hogan and George Allen, "As Others See Us: An Interview After the Fact," The English Journal, LV (May 1966), pp. 531-540.

[10] James R. Squire, A Common Purpose. (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1966).

[11] Herbert J. Muller, The Uses of English. (New York: Holt-Rinehart-Winston, 1967).

[12] John Dixon, Growth through English. (Reading, England: National Association for the Teaching of English, 1967).

Planning the Field Visits

Three major problems occupied attention during the initial planning stage of this study: selecting the institutions to be visited, refining instruments and approaches from the National Study, and making detailed travel arrangements for observers.

To assist the directors in evaluating instruments, recommending schools, and interpreting findings, five British specialists on the teaching of English were invited to participate on a project advisory committee:

> George C. Allen, Professor of Education, University of Sussex; formerly chief inspector for English, British Ministry of Education.
>
> James N. Britton, Reader in English, London Institute of Education.
>
> Esmor Jones, Honorary Secretary, National Association for the Teaching of English.
>
> Denys Thompson, editor of *The Use of English*.
>
> Frank Whitehead, Senior Lecturer in Education, Sheffield University; Chairman, National Association for the Teaching of English, 1965-1967.

By virtue of their present appointments and past experiences, panel members were well acquainted with teachers and schools throughout the United Kingdom. All willingly and conscientiously met with the project director on repeated occasions, alerted the project staff to potential problems, reviewed instruments, suggested institutions for observation, and assisted in interpretating findings whenever asked. The high esteem with which these individuals are held by their colleagues in Britain reduced to a minimum the problem of securing the cooperation of British teachers.

Advice from other professional leaders in England supplemented that from the advisory panel and contributed both to the arrangements for visits and to the interpretation of findings. T. L. Stewart, Chief Inspector for English, British Ministry of Education, provided invaluable assistance in recommending schools and interpreting data. W. H. Gatherer, Stewart's counterpart in the Scottish Education Department, recommended schools throughout Scotland. E. Glyn Lewis, Senior Research Fellow, University of Wales, Swansea, and formerly a ministry inspector in English for Wales, not only recommended institutions in that country, but meticulously analyzed the questionnaires. Among others consulted for school recommendations were David Holbrook, author of *English for Maturity* and *English for the Rejected*; Geoffrey Summerfield, Lecturer in English and Education, York University; Harold Rosen, Lecturer, London Institute of Education; Douglas Barnes, Lecturer in Education, University of Leeds, and present Chairman of NATE; and Anthony L. E. Adams, Head, Department of English, Churchfields Comprehensive School, West Bromwich.

Conferences with the advisory panel and others were held during September 1967 at Dartmouth College, and in London during the following December. Their recommendations were carefully considered by the project directors before instruments were revised and letters of invitation sent to cooperating schools. Miss Margaret Osborne, Director of the London

Office of Study Abroad, Inc., was engaged as a staff assistant responsible for detailed travel arrangements in the United Kingdom.

The creation of questionnaires, interview schedules, observation guides, and overall directions to guide assessment of a school's English program was reported in detail in the report of the National Study.[13] The modified instruments utilized in the British Study are reprinted in Appendix D. Seventeen separate instruments were prepared as follows:

Instrument No. 1: Headmaster's Questionnaire. A questionnaire distributed in advance of visits to each school.

Instrument No. 2: Interview Schedule for Headmaster/mistress. A schedule to guide the initial interview held by school observers.

Instrument No. 3: Department Head Interview. A schedule to guide the interviews with the department chairman.

Instrument No. 4: Department Head Questionnaire. A questionnaire distributed in advance of visits to the school.

Instrument No. 5: Concept Check List. A check list used to guide discussion with department chairman on the teaching of certain concepts. Plans to use this list in class interviews with sixth form students were abandoned when its inappropriateness became apparent to observers.

Instrument No. 6: Interview Schedule for Selected Teacher. A guide for individual interviews of teachers in the schools.

Instrument No. 7: Issues in Teaching English. An issues questionnaire administered immediately before the departmental meeting.

Instrument No. 8: Group Interview with English Department. A schedule to guide joint interview of total English department.

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[13] James R. Squire and Roger K. Applebee, op. cit., pp. 22-29.

Instrument No. 9: Questionnaire for Individual English Teacher. A printed questionnaire distributed following the visits and mailed directly to the London office by the teachers.

Instrument No. 10: Librarian's Questionnaire. A schedule to guide the interview with the individual responsible for the school library.

Instrument No. 11: Interview Schedule for Specialist Pupils. A schedule to guide class interview of form VI pupils or of the most advanced group in each school.

Instrument No. 12: Questionnaire for Specialist Pupils. A printed questionnaire used with pupils during group interview.

Instrument No. 13: Reading Questionnaire. A questionnaire administered to six selected classes by teachers in the schools and mailed directly to the study office in London.

Instrument No. 14: Pupil Writing Check List. A list used by observers to characterize the kind of student writing and teacher annotation observed on selected batches of papers.

Instrument No. 15: Classroom Observation Card. A guide to assist observers in recording impressions.

Instrument No. 16: Summary of Classroom Visitation. A form on which observers summarized their impressions of class observation.

Instrument No. 17: Summary Reaction to School. A report used by observers to summarize their total impressions of a school.

Selection of Schools

Seventy school programs in England, Scotland, and Wales were recommended for visitation by the British consultants. All were judged to be pacesetting schools with reputations for excellence in the teaching of English. From the total, specific schools were selected for possible visitation after consideration of various factors which influence the teaching of English: geographical dispersion; the type of secondary school;

location in urban, suburban, or rural setting; the socio-economic characteristics of the student population. Because the directors anticipated a high percentage of refusals, requests for cooperation were sent to forty-five schools, even though the plan called only for concentration on twenty-five. The response was immediate and enthusiastic: only one school administrator declined the invitation and this because his faculty was already engaged in another project. A second institution was eliminated when visits could not be arranged at a mutually acceptable time. A third requested withdrawal after the department chairman became ill. Thus visits were finally made to 42 schools: 7 in Scotland, 3 in Wales, and 32 in England.

Schools were distributed through 18 counties, ranging from Sussex and Kent in the south of England to Sutherland in northern Scotland. Seventeen of the schools were located in or near large urban centers; 10 in suburban settings outside of cities; 8 served centers of less than 50,000 population; seven were either rural or located in small towns. The variation in community and geographical location seemed more than adequate for the purposes of the study.

Because the 42 schools varied considerably in organization, size, and purpose, general description is difficult. Sixteen comprehensive institutions, providing for young people at all levels of ability, thirteen state-supported grammar schools, and seven secondary modern schools were included. Another six schools were classified as independent or public schools, and of these three received partial support from the government through "direct grants" to offset the cost of educating a small percentage of their pupils. The nature of these differing educational institutions is discussed in Chapter II.

Schools varied in size from 200 to more than 2,000 pupils. The independent schools ranged from 395 to 820 with an average enrollment of 680 students. Grammar schools were about the same: an average of 720 pupils with a range from 407 to 1,000. Although the average size of the secondary modern school visited in the study was 570, the group varied from a low of 205 pupils to a high of 1,065. Comprehensive schools were invariably the largest, with an average enrollment of 1,170. In London one comprehensive school reported 2,110 pupils; in northern Scotland another listed only 290.

One indication of the nature of each program was provided by data indicating the size of the previous year's sixth form class. Upper form classes are not included in modern schools, but in others the average enrollment of specialist or advanced pupils in upper form classes suggests something about the academic emphasis. In state-supported grammar schools, the sixth form averaged 170 pupils; in comprehensive schools, 80 pupils. Independent schools, however, although their total enrollment was lower, averaged 245 students in the sixth form.

To obtain a rough indication of the socio-economic composition of each student body, headmasters were asked to classify the occupations of parents in one of five categories: professional-managerial, highly skilled, semi-skilled, rural or agricultural, and unskilled or slightly skilled. Some headmasters asserted that they had no such information and could not even estimate the percentage of parents in each category; others supplied data freely and without question. The mean percentages reported in Table 1 cannot be considered anything but an approximation, but they do provide a composite portrait which corresponds closely to

Table 1

Occupations of Parents Reported by Headmasters in Grammar, Modern, Comprehensive, and Independent Schools

(n = 37 headmasters)

Occupational Classification	Mean percentage reported in: Independent Schools	Grammar Schools	Secondary Modern Schools	Comprehensive Schools
Professional and Managerial	68.3	28.5	1.6	7.1
Highly-skilled	21.5	26.5	10.6	16.6
Semi-skilled	6.2	28.8	39.2	35.9
Rural or Agricultural	3.0	6.9	5.8	2.9
Unskilled, slightly skilled	1.0	9.3	42.8	37.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

American observations of the social and cultural background of pupils in the four types of institutions.

The independent public schools of Britain clearly tend to draw their pupils from the upper strata of society, much as do independent schools in the United States. Clearly, too, state-supported grammar schools attract more children from well educated families, while more from less skilled, presumably less well educated families find their way into secondary modern schools. To the extent that parental occupation is an index of socio-economic status, the data support the concern of some British educators over class-oriented specialized secondary schools and suggest that the new comprehensive schools may indeed be bringing within a single institution children from all segments of society. For the purposes of this study, however, the data illustrate that the programs observed serve children with widely varying backgrounds. Like the data on size and location of institutions, the evidence suggests that the 42 schools are generally representative of British secondary education.

Selection and Preparation of Observers

The project staff consisted of the Director, the Associate Director, a staff assistant who maintained the London office, and a staff secretary. Five faculty members of the departments of English and Education at the University of Illinois, one professor from the University of Connecticut, and two members of the national NCTE headquarters staff formed, with the two directors, the basic team of observers for the study. Of these, eight had participated in the earlier National Study in the United States and were familiar with the procedures involved. Together the observers were an impressive team with a wide background of experience in English and its teaching. Most had previously taught in public secondary schools, but one had no such teaching experience. Several were specialists in literature and its teaching; others were primarily interested in rhetoric and composition; one had unique interest in the theory and process of language instruction. The members of the visiting teams were:

Directors:	James R. Squire, Director; Professor of English and Counselor in Teacher Education, University of Illinois; Executive Secretary, NCTE, 1960-1967.
	Roger K. Applebee, Associate Dean, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Illinois, and Lecturer in English.

Observers:

William Curtin, Assistant Professor of English, University of Illinois.

Leonard F. Dean, Professor of English, New York University; formerly Professor of English and Head of the Department, University of Illinois.

Robert F. Hogan, Executive Secretary, NCTE, and Lecturer in English, University of Illinois.

J. N. Hook, Professor of English and Counselor in Teacher Education, University of Illinois; Director, Illinois State Curriculum Center for the Preparation of English Teachers.

James C. Lyon, Business Manager and Assistant to the Executive Secretary, NCTE; formerly high school teacher of English, Maine Township High School, Illinois.

Priscilla Tyler, Professor of English and Education, University of Missouri, Kansas City; formerly Associate Professor of English, University of Illinois.

Jerry Lee Walker, Associate Professor of Education, University of Illinois.

Thomas Wilcox, Associate Professor of English, University of Connecticut; Director, NCTE Study of Undergraduate English Programs.

All visits were scheduled between March 8 and May 1, 1967, during which period observers logged a total of 164 days in the 42 schools of the study. Most frequently a team of two observers visited a school together, remaining for two full days (and not infrequently for evening activities as well). Four large schools were visited by three observers; six smaller institutions, by only one. Nine of the visits were restricted to a single day because schedules for observation could not be arranged otherwise.

In preparation for these visits, the directors revised the National Study Handbook for Visitation and Observation, which explained in detail the procedures to follow in visiting the schools, the problems which might be encountered, and the uses of the various instruments. This Handbook is presented in Appendix E. In addition, copies of A Common Purpose[14] (a collection of articles on American and British English Education) and an assortment of articles recommended by the British advisory panel were distributed to each observer. The Directors also held pre-visitation conferences with each observer before departure from the University of Illinois and in London on arrival, and insofar as possible one of the Directors accompanied each observer on his first visit to a British school.

To answer general questions which American observers might have about British education, a special one-day conference was arranged at the London Institute of Education. All observers save one participated in this conference, held shortly after school visits had begun. The session was arranged by J. N. Britton and conducted by the project director. In addition to four members of the advisory panel, the following staff members at the London Institute of Education and department chairmen from London schools not included in the observation schedule participated:

Nancy Martin, Senior Lecturer, London Institute of Education
Harold Rosen, Lecturer in Education, London Institure of Education
Connie Rosen, Lecturer in Education, Goldsmith College, University of London
Margaret Tucker, West Norwood Secondary School for Girls
Norman Beer, Chingford High School, London
Paul Williams, Cooper's Company's Boys' School, London

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[14] James R. Squire, ed., op. cit.

Careful preparation of observers was essential because in their reactions lay the heart of the study. Despite the accumulation of much statistical data, the independent judgments and insights of the project observers yield the most valuable findings in this report.

Treatment of Data

The data collected on the 42 schools were treated in a manner similar to that used in the National Study. Reports which could be subjected to analysis on data processing machines were so handled. Other statistical data were compiled for each school and tabulated by hand. When appropriate, arithmetical means, quartiles, and other measures of central tendency and distribution were computed, and because much of the data yield to clearest interpretation when translated to percentages, percentages are used throughout. Whenever the findings of the American National Study seem useful in interpretation, they are also reproduced.

Much of the summer of 1967 was devoted to tabulating and analyzing the data collected. During late August, J. N. Britton served as consultant to the project in conferences at the University of Illinois, and the directors are grateful for his insight and suggestions in interpreting what was found. In addition, each project observer was asked when he returned to the United States to prepare a brief essay summarizing his impressions. These individual reports, quoted throughout this report are reproduced in full in Appendix B.

As a convenience to readers, findings are reported under separate topical headings as in the earlier National Study. Chapter II presents the background information on cultural and educational conditions in the

United Kingdom which is necessary to the interpretation of much of the data collected. A discussion of the general findings of the study follows in Chapter III, then a discussion of the organization of British departments of English and the development of their program of studies. The teaching of literature, language, writing, and oral language are treated in separate chapters, as well as the teaching of drama, an aspect of British teaching not widely understood in America. The preparation of British secondary teachers and the conditions under which they work is then discussed, and the report concludes with comments concerning the hypotheses on which this study was initially based. In every chapter an attempt is made to suggest implications for American schools, and each begins with selected quotations from American observers to suggest both the unique character of much that was seen and the complex reactions of the observers themselves.

CHAPTER II

BRITISH EDUCATION AS SEEN BY AMERICAN OBSERVERS

> This new philosophy of education as expressed in English may have something to do with the English people as a whole at this stage in their history but does not have too much to do with educating the masses below the middle cultivation level...
>
> The teachers at the outward thrust of this movement burn with extraordinary energy from daybreak to midnight...But for them, their work is not work...It is zeal incarnate--it is their _life_. School is the place where they and their pupils and to a certain extent the community come most alive.
>
> The only things that all teachers feel they must teach are those required by the examinations.
>
> It is difficult for us to share the militant zeal for emancipation and reform which was expressed by the leaders in London and by young teachers we met in the field.

To the casual American observer who has been informed about British education by his reading of Dickens, Maugham, Waugh, and perhaps George Orwell, the English secondary school is a highly regimented, tradition-bound, anachronistic institution which produces a strange assortment of literary stereotypes. To him the most startling first impression of the schools therefore is the discovery that they are not at all as he thought and that most share common features with their American counterparts. It is probably true that British secondary education has changed more in the past 25 years than have high schools of the United States in the previous 50. Paralleling changes on the social and political scene, British education has undergone something of a revolution in this brief period, and most of our attitudes deriving from the fictions of the past simply do not fit the facts of today.

Whether one is a student of history and social institutions or simply an interested spectator, he cannot but be aware of the profound change of social climate in Britain since the end of World War I. Not as dramatic as the fast-changing patterns in modern Japan, nor as easily analyzed as the transition in the newer nations, the English social revolution is nevertheless a palpable and incontrovertible fact. But to say that this revolution is direct, linear, and thoroughly predictable is clearly an overstatement; it is highly complex--affecting in various ways all British institutions and the intricate connections among them: clubs and banks as well as schools and industry.

It is now commonplace to cite the mods and miniskirts of England as symptoms of this large social change, and then to catalogue a new morality that bears no relationship to that of the days of Albert and Victoria. "Swinging London" has somehow won a name for itself as the entertainment capital of Europe without even trying--this though less than a generation ago the cry throughout England was austerity. Ministers have become morally culpable and Beatles have been cited on the honors list. And such goings on have not failed to raise the world's collective eyebrows.

Of all people, America (the term commonly used in England) has maintained an affectionate though somewhat literary view of Britain and all her establishments; and perhaps because of this fraternal and nostalgic point of view, we are shocked by a disparity between the solemnity of what we conceive as decorous Old England and the frivolity of a swinging society--between the Victorian costumes of Eton schoolboys and the miniskirts of London's girls.

To many observers this new England is directly attributable to the lost Empire, and there is little doubt that the ramifications of this conscious physical loss are many. Two total and agonizing wars, though they ended in victory, have in little more than a generation stripped Britain of power, affluence, and colonies, not to speak of the most serious blow of all--its loss of young men. From the point of view of world prestige, the coup de grace was Suez.

But there are few tears shed in England for this loss of Empire. Actually there seems to be a sense of relief over the matter, as though the country were quite resigned to giving up its paternalistic role in the world, a role that had been played well but for too long. There is thus a sense of liberation, of which the mods and the minis are but superficial manifestations. This release from the demands of history has meant not only that the British have shuffled off the role of protector and justiciar with the accompanying attitude of *noblesse oblige*, but that they have come to look at themselves with new vision. It is a look inward rather than backward. This is not to say that this is an era of British isolationism--that the country has withdrawn from the ideological and economic marketplace. To the contrary, as is evident in the affairs in the Middle East and in the negotiations with the Common Market countries, England is party to the world's discussions, but a party with a different role than it had in the past.

If the new role is not one of the leading parts on the world stage, it is still a very solid one, and we can expect the British to play it for all it is worth. Contending within this part is a new determinism that prompts reform of older institutions and a complacency that resists mere change--not because of a nostalgic clinging to the past, but simply out of uncertainty of the future. It is difficult, however, to ascribe either of these aspects of the British character to single sectors of the population or even to the major political parties. Although the Establishment, with its sense of history and propriety, continues to assert a strong, conservative social force, a newer coalition of many groups fosters institutional change at a quick pace that produces occasionally paradoxical results.

It seems, for example, to be contradictory for the pupils in a new comprehensive school, or even those of a secondary modern school in the inner city, to be wearing the blazers and sweaters which one associates with the most traditional of independent schools. Yet this outward show is not carried on to ape the custom of aristocratic schools but to instill a sense of egalitarianism among the pupils themselves. This in spite of the fact that, with rare exception, the pupils are rigidly selected, precluding the possibility of those in the secondary modern (terminal) school attending any college, let alone a college of Oxbridge. Other ceremonious and traditional features that all schools have in common include the daily morning assembly, complete with hymns, reading of the scriptures by the headmaster, and even an occasional sermon. Quite clearly there is nothing contradictory in this practice from the British point of view, which sees the headmaster not only as an agent _in loco_ parentis, but also as an authority of church and state. In fact the practice is legally required. To the American observers, however, conditioned in recent years to the discrete separation of school and religion, the implications of this ceremony seemed once again paradoxical.

The revolution is, of course, incomplete--altogether characteristic of British revolutions--but it is having profound effect on the system of education at all levels. What appears to be happening at the secondary level, to oversimplify somewhat, is an attempt to broaden the base without erecting any additional superstructure. Present concerns for educating "the other half" of Britain's population suggest vast expansion of certain facilities and gradual curtailment of others.

The System of Schools

Since World War II and until fairly recently the British have maintained a tripartite system of secondary education including three distinctly different kinds of schools--grammar, secondary modern, and technical. For these schools pupils have been selected from the mainstream of society according to their ability and motivation at the end of primary schooling. Beyond this system, however, is a fairly intricate and important adjunct of education in the independent schools, each with its own traditions and systems of selection. The following brief descriptions of the basic types of secondary schools are intended to delineate some of their characteristics and to suggest the direction now being taken in the country at large.

The Public School

Serving a small but elite segment of the population are a handful of public schools (so named in Victorian times to distinguish them from private schools like the fictitious Dotheboys Hall of Nicholas Nickleby). These schools derive their present character from the Victorian era but have their roots in centuries much earlier. They belong to a loose confederation managed by the headmasters of each respective school. Among the public schools are such notables as Winchester, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and Marlborough, together with perhaps two hundred others including 64 grammar schools of various reputation; they have been responsible for educating a sizeable proportion of leaders in all aspects of British life, but particularly those in politics, education, and the arts. Although in ordinary parlance public schools are those which are independently financed, some, such as Manchester Grammar, are publicly supported and nevertheless belong to the Headmasters' Conference.

As with a degree from Oxbridge, a public school education has been a most viable commodity in many markets--from advertising to the Houses of Parliament. "In 1942 the Fleming Committee were told that out of 830 bishops, deans, judges, stipendiary magistrates, highly paid civil servants, Indian civil servants,governors of Dominions and directors of banks and railway companies, 76 percent came from public schools, and of those, 48 percent came from twelve major public schools."[15]

This domination of the positions of prestige, influence, and money has no doubt subsided somewhat in the last 25 years, but the astonishing point to recognize is that a mere 5 percent of boys of secondary age in England attend the public schools. Although the present study was little concerned with the public boarding school per se, it is perfectly clear that much of what has happened and much of what will likely happen next in the secondary schools at large is in reaction to the traditions and practices in this select cadre.

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[15] Anthony Sampson, Anatomy of Britain. (New York and Evanston: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 180.

Admission to the public schools has not depended on academic promise nor on a system of external examinations, but on family influence and ability to pay--therefore, in effect, they compose an adjunct of the aristocracy. With scarcely any exception, they are boarding schools, each with its own special character, even its own raison d'être but in general they provide an all-pervasive world apart, a social microcosm comprising boys who develop their own oligarchies of power and prestige, as well as a highly cultivated accent which will set them apart in the adult world. Such an education, the formal aspects being taught by specially qualified graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, affords a boy access to the best of the universities or to privileged positions in government or commerce. It is against this tradition that the agents of social reform and egalitarianism have contended, attempting through legislation to democratize the whole pattern of primary and secondary education without, of course, acting directly against the public school.

The obvious counterforce to that exerted by money and social privilege is money and merit. Although ambition, intelligence, and aptitude are difficult to measure and control, most of the changes (or reforms, as the English are prone to say) have been predicated on the idea that they could be; money, on the other hand, is conveniently redirected to compensate in areas of inequity. Thus there have been a variety of schemes consigning pupils to appropriate kinds of schools or streams within schools in accord with their demonstrated aptitudes. The most notable practice in this regard is the now notorious eleven plus examination, an IQ test with a heavy verbal component given to children at the age of eleven (which coincides with the time that they are at or near the end of primary schooling). Independent schools (including most public schools) are in general exempt from the regulatory features of this examination system; and even many of the grammar schools that have heretofore used the eleven plus exam as the primary criterion for acceptance have come to use their own selection devices. However, as originally conceived and as commonly used the examination has been an instrument for social leveling first, and efficient but arbitrary "streaming" second. With this device a small group of clever boys and girls have been creamed off to be sent to local grammar schools at public expense; others with special talents were directed to technical schools; and until fairly recently, the less gifted have been sent to secondary modern schools. The recent development is the comprehensive school, which draws students of all levels of ability. Thus there has developed a triple standard with respect to the channels open for secondary education: the public and other independent schools; the secondary modern and grammar school system; and the comprehensive pattern. Each channel has its own mix of students.

The Grammar School

Whereas the public schools serve the socially elite of England, by coincidence a very able group intellectually, the grammar schools educate a carefully selected intellectual elite that ideally covers the entire range of social conditions. However, it is fair to say that the students in grammar school are predominantly from the middle class. (See Table 1, Chapter I.) It is, to use the word that has become fashionable in Britain, the school of the meritocracy, that able and ambitious sector of the population which tends to rise to the top in spite of its non-aristocratic background. As might be expected, given this highly motivated, academically endowed group and providing teachers of considerable ability, the grammar schools tend to do very well in the general competition for places at the universities. Over the past two decades, the proportionate number of grammar school boys getting scholarships to Oxford and Cambridge has risen while those for boys from the public schools has declined. This shift, however, has not been altogether dramatic, and predictions that financially supported, selective grammar schools would soon outstrip the public schools in the university scholarship competitions have simply not materialized. Nevertheless, it is clear that grammar school graduates at large are taking on relatively more significant positions within the Establishment compared to the products of independent schools.

In contrast to its public counterpart, the grammar school is a day school rather than a boarding school. It is supported by public funds in one of two ways: the direct grant school subject to its own and the national authority and the maintained school answerable as well to a local education authority (LEA) which has jurisdiction over other schools in the area. Of the two, the first has the more prestige and freedom.

Ironically it is the grammar school, which had come to represent reform to an earlier generation of Englishmen, that now stands in the most precarious position because of the present social revolution. Although it has waged a successful battle with the hierarchal public school for position and prestige and although it has enabled some of its students to achieve a high degree of social mobility, it is caught in the crossfire between adherents of the public school and those who feel that there is social inequality in any system of school segregation even though its lines are drawn according to merit rather than wealth or social class. Most are agreed, however, that the process of selecting according to merit at eleven years is unfair and arbitrary. There is thus a strong feeling among many that the grammar school should give way to the comprehensive school, which, though it might have different tracks or "streams," would enroll pupils from a broad intellectual range as well as a wide social stratum.

The fate of the grammar schools (and for that matter of all of the schools except the independent ones) has become both a political issue and a lively subject for debate in professional circles. During the visit of the project observers, a Tory victory in London borough elections seemed to have immediate repurcussions in the schools. For many of the grammar schools it apparently meant that the timetable which would have many of them "going comprehensive" fairly soon would simply be tabled, and that they would in consequence be able to maintain their present status for many years to come--or until the political fortunes had changed!

The Secondary Modern School

As a direct result of the Education Act of 1944, the position of the secondary modern school was made secure--at least for several decades. In general the secondary modern was to take up where the grammar school left off by educating the great majority of youth who did not distinguish themselves in the eleven plus examination. To most English educators, the plan is now considered as a "noble experiment" with all the connotations of the American attempt at prohibition--i.e., having many critics from the beginning, and finally conceded by most as being incapable of fair administration. Nonetheless, many secondary modern schools are still flourishing in Britain, and as a cause, the movement has many loyal supporters. Political fortunes being what they are, it may be many more years before the grammar school/secondary modern school dichotomy is abandoned in favor of the multi-level comprehensive system.

In theory, there was to have been an avenue of access to the grammar schools for those students who did not fare well on the eleven plus examinations but later blossomed into astute and enterprising scholars. In practice, the avenues did not materialize; once labeled by the test results, a boy (still less a girl) had virtually no opportunity to cross from one thoroughfare to the other. To project observers who had noted the lack of mobility among the various tracking systems in the United States, this consequence of the physically segregated system in Britain came as no surprise. It is true that a sizeable number of pupils in many of the secondary modern schools observed did stay on after their fifteenth birthday; and among this group, some were transferred to a grammar school (but more likely to a local comprehensive school) where they could take fifth form, or even sixth form, work. More common, however, has been the attempt to create fifth and sixth forms within the school and thus to gain an elevated kind of academic status.

In essence, the system of secondary modern schools was established to provide terminal education for the great majority of young people. Such training would include work in the domestic arts, handcraft, practical shop experience for boys, and a considerable component of physical education as well as such academic work as is profitable, not only in a vocational but also in a personal and developmental sense. The final aims of the program are thus social and immediate rather than preparatory and intellectual. In a way, the secondary moderns were to be separate but equal--obviously separate, but equal, not in terms of the kind of instruction to be found in the grammar school, but with respect to the appropriateness of the instruction for the differing populations. Curriculums in the modern schools were to be freed from the restraints of university preparation and external examinations, freed (as their name implies) from the demands of history and tradition.

Within such a program it is clear that the lines that have traditionally separated subject areas have become very shadowy indeed. In a number of secondary modern schools visited, for example, it is standard practice to have teachers assigned to classes quite outside their own disciplines; English teachers teach some math or history while social studies teachers find themselves in a class labeled English.[16] Prospective teachers planning to be employed in secondary modern schools are advised to prepare themselves broadly in several areas of study. Though Americans had many reservations about such practices, this is not to say that there are no observable benefits from insisting on dexterity and breadth rather than extreme specialization in a teacher's training and interests. One of these advantages can be seen in the evolution of the drama as it has developed in all kinds of schools, but most strongly in the modern schools.

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[16] See the extensive discussion of the preparation and assignment of teachers in Chapter X.

It is a mistake to assume that these schools serve a narrow band of pupils alike in ability, motivation, and social background. The range of intelligence, in spite of the "creaming off" by the independent and grammar schools, is very wide indeed; and although a great percentage of the students come from the skilled and unskilled laboring classes, there is a small group whose parents hold prestigious positions in business and the professions. It is clear, too, that the schools vary considerably depending on the geographical area they serve, the philosophy of the local education authority, and the outlook of the headmaster. As noted above, one means for providing for the pupils on the upper end of the achievement scale is to extend study into a fifth form for students wishing to take external examinations. Parental pressure for examinations for all children has prompted many schools to introduce their own "committee exams" usually given at the fourth form level, so their children will have some kind of paper recognition before leaving school at 15. According to a recent survey,[17] approximately half of the secondary modern schools offer some kind of fourth form examination system, locally conceived and controlled, perhaps as an inducement for pupils to stay at least through the year. Some of these schools appear to be self contained while others attempt to promote extra-curricular functions of various kinds--from hiking clubs and youth clubs, to one school which sponsors an annual "Arctic Cruise" on a charter basis with stops in Norway, Iceland, and northern Scotland.

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[17] Ministry of Education, Half our Future, op. cit., p. 82.

Half our Future (also known as the Newsome Report) indicates that strong gains in reading achievement have been made in both the secondary modern and the comprehensive schools since their inception. It is assumed in the report that this improvement is a valid index to the general upgrading of instruction and to the better quality of the students as compared to those of previous years.

But the report is significant in some other ways as well. A strong recommendation is made to extend the school-leaving age, now fifteen, to sixteen in the very near future. This recommendation, firmly supported by most of the educational establishment, could have a marked effect on the schools' academic programs--particularly as they will be influenced by the system of examinations, both external and internal. One result will likely be more tracks (or streams in British terminology) within the separate schools to accommodate the varied abilities of their students. (Some pupils will no doubt prepare for GCE and others for CSE examinations, while still others will be expected to take locally drawn tests. Another group may take no examinations.) Clearly, with the growing concern for terminating secondary education with some kind of certificate, probably based on examinations, a more explicit delineation of the subject areas taught in the schools will inevitably take place.

Almost as clear is the trend toward comprehensiveness in the secondary modern. Now that many of them offer fifth and even sixth form work, with the prospect of making even heavier commitments at this end of the scale, they will take on the range and color of the comprehensive school itself--the only distinction being an historic one. Thus it will eventually happen that the secondary modern school as conceived in the 1940's will exist only here and there as a vestige of the past. As seen by the project observers, the secondary moderns were in a state of change, but it should be noted that all signs suggest that this fundamental and largest part of the system has developed significantly since its inception about two decades ago.

The Comprehensive School

The new darling of the public school system in Britain has to be the comprehensive school, which has grown significantly in numbers and in reputation since its prototype was founded in 1954. According to an article in the Christian Science Monitor, 46 out of 162 local education authorities in England and Wales have comprehensive systems, and 67 percent of all secondary pupils in London are attending comprehensive schools.[18] Two features of the comprehensives have something to do with this gain in prestige: their size and their novelty. There are, however, a number of critics who decry size as a threat to more personalized education, and others who point with alarm to "frills and extravagance" to be found in some of the more progressive school plants. Such criticism does not sound new to American ears. Nevertheless, observers accustomed to many American schools with populations well over 4,000 found it somewhat strange to hear allegations of the huge and impossible size of the new comprehensives, which generally ran to about 1,200 pupils and only occasionally beyond 1,500. Since of all the schools in Britain these are most like the "typical" suburban or city high school, it was amusing to be asked by a number of English teachers if "there were comprehensive schools in the United States."

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[18] Christian Science Monitor, December 24, 1966.

With a complex pattern of secondary education already in existence, one may well ask what prompted the establishment of still another scheme. To oversimplify, the early comprehensive schools were established as experiments by a group of professionals backed, not by one or another of the political or social radicals, but by the large middle group who held political power at the time. But as Anthony Sampson points out, "Although the comprehensives were invented by the coalition government, they have become firmly associated with Socialism and egalitarianism."[19] Experimental or not, the notion of comprehensivizing the educational process has now taken rather firm root in the English soil, and although the political climate may vary from season to season, it is clear that this plant is bound to grow--even at the expense of others that have been carefully nurtured through many years.

Nearly ten years ago, British sociologist Michael Young wrote a long, satiric essay entitled The Rise of the Meritocracy. In it Young depicts with a fine logic and a wry humor how the conversion from an aristocratic tradition to a social system based on "meritocracy" leads to eventual collapse in the year 2033. Basic to the rise is the educational scheme of the forties and fifties, before the emergence of the comprehensive schools. Under that system, children with a high degree of innate intelligence and a good bit of effort would inevitably rise to the top (with the help of the state) while the lesser breed (clearly the majority of the population) would be given a second class education in the modern schools. What developed in this fictitious glance into the future was a kind of absolute dichotomy of the two classes, with the emergence of the "meritocrats" in all of the positions of influence and authority previously held by the aristocracy. Then, in 2033, the revolution! Ironically, the very system that was to save the society under the early motto of "equality of opportunity" had chinks in its own armor, and did not even accord the inferior group the salve of feeling that though they did not have as much, they were in reality as good, or as intelligent, as the ruling oligarchy.

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[19] Anthony Sampson, op. cit., p. 188.

As presently constituted, of course, the comprehensive schools cannot claim to be offering the same, or even equal, education to pupils whose ability and motivation covers such a vast range. Nevertheless, there is opportunity for social equality in these schools that cannot be found in the tripartite system. Although the grammar schools tend to include a considerable social mix, depending on the policy of the particular school and its "catchment area," the scope and range are not significant when compared to those of the comprehensives. Furthermore, they operate within a much narrower curricular band, itself an integrating social force.

One manifestation of the trend toward comprehensive schools is the current tendency of university graduates to seek positions in them, rather than in the independent or grammar schools. Sensing the change in direction, many very able beginning teachers with degrees from Oxford, Cambridge, London, or Bristol are choosing to enter the profession at this level rather than in the more prestigious schools of the past. They feel that their experience in the newer school will give them a distinct advantage in the competition for positions as head teachers when the grammar schools, and many of the independents, go comprehensive themselves. This they do in spite of the fact that they must "do a course" at a university department of education to find themselves properly credentialed.

Of all the schools described, the comprehensive school most nearly corresponds to the secondary modern, differing most clearly in its founding principle of openness and equality. There are still the streams that characterize the modern schools, but there is much more opportunity for mobility among them than there is to go from a modern school to a grammar school. Much of the flavor of the comprehensive school comes from its physical qualities. They are not only large and new (in comparison to the secondary moderns which are usually nothing more than "Advanced Elementary" buildings of another age), but they are often located within or adjacent to new housing "estates" or suburban areas. Facilities within the schools are thus dramatically different from those in the older schools. Libraries, motion picture projectors, television receivers, rooms with special equipment, moveable desks, and other such equipment are much more likely to be found.

The curriculum in a comprehensive school is also bound to be both broader and more rigorous than its counterpart in the modern school. There are still various subjects that can be grouped under the title of the practical arts; there is still religious instruction required for all students. In general, however, it is fair to say that subjects take on a more careful delineation in the comprehensive school than they do in the secondary modern. This is true for at least two reasons: teachers tend to be increasingly specialized in the comprehensive school and pupils tend to stay on in much larger proportions to attempt GCE or CSE examinations.

As an institution that will democratize not only the educational system of Britain, but the whole social system, the comprehensive school appears to be well off the launching platform but a considerable distance from its goal. Social reformers insist that the only way of covering the rest of the distance is to force all schools to turn comprehensive. Knowing what we do of British history and the particular British penchant for compromise, there is little likelihood of this occurring. In a kind of irrational way the English have valued individuality and even eccentricity to the point that it is hard to conceive an end to the more individualistic and tradition bound institutions. On the other hand, the British have nationalized the railroad and the medical profession, and it is not beyond the realm of possibility that they would develop a unilateral system of secondary education. If that should come, it appears that the comprehensive school will be the model on which it is based.

Examinations

Throughout the secondary school system in Great Britain there is a complex network of examinations set by different agencies for different purposes, but inevitably having great influence on the curriculum of the individual schools, the placement of pupils within the schools, and their subsequent activities upon leaving the schools. Project observers were struck over and over again by the contrast between the free wheeling practices they observed in the lower forms (where external examinations were not in use) and the restraining influences of the examinations in the upper forms. It is likely that the examinations set in other subjects have a similar effect of changing the pace and quality of instruction beginning after the fourth form, but it is doubtful that the shift is as pronounced as it appears in English. From discussions and interviews with English teachers, it is clear that a majority of them disapprove of the whole system of external examinations; but because they make little concerned effort of their own to do something else, it is probably that the system will be expanded even as some of the individual examinations change in kind.

Although all of the project observers noted the drastic changes in content and approach (Chapter III, Tables 5 and 7) between English instruction after the fourth form, presumably because of the impending examination at the end of the fifth form, they reacted to it in different ways. In general, the response was decidedly negative--surely English should be taught with a steadier hand and a more singular purpose than the facts revealed! Informal methods observed with great regularity in the first four forms seemed to be rejected absolutely in the upper form work--apparently a kind of pedagogical hypocrisy. And British teachers generally resented the system of examinations that turned fifth form classes into cram sessions in contradiction to the freedom of choice and pace that characterizes the earlier years.

Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that only about 40 percent of the school population, of whom half again might go on to college, continue into the fifth form. (More than half of British pupils are thus unaffected by the examination system.) Consequently this is a special group to begin with. What is remarkable from the point of view of the project staff is that the English schools do not spend more time in the earlier forms preparing for the examinations, a syndrome of many of the better American schools where much of the classwork in the early high school years anticipates College Board Exams or state Regents Examinations. To some of the observers, the fact of the British examinations is what allows the spontaneity and freedom in the early forms. Whereas American programs tend to be held together by an explicit curriculum, or even by a series of textbooks, because we lack a national examination system, the British schoolmasters are not so restrained. They are free to experiment since the examinations are a known quantity which they are sure their pupils can pass with only one year of special guidance.

Interestingly, the system of examinations in Britain has been based not so much on providing a terminal point for measuring achievement as on assessing student promise for things to come. This, of course, is the whole point of the 'eleven plus' examination given at the end of the primary school to determine which students proceed to grammar schools and which to the modern schools. A fairly straightforward IQ test, it is now being phased out of existence. Individually, the grammar schools use other criteria for selection as well as the eleven plus, such as direct interview and primary teacher recommendations; and some (including Manchester Grammar) provide their own entrance examination in addition to or in lieu of the traditional exam.

Until quite recently, external examinations given in the later stages of secondary education have also had their primary emphasis on selection and admission--to the universities, and into the world of business and industry. No doubt, as originally conceived, the General Certificate of Education (GCE), was to be used wholly as a device for admitting students for further study in higher institutions. Examinations were in two phases: Ordinary (O level) and Advanced (A level), the former tests of broad general achievement administered to all college-bound pupils in fourth form, the latter tests given at the end of sixth form to pupils specializing in particular subjects. Authorities drawing up the examinations were identified altogether with the universities, and particularly with the well-known few: Oxford, Cambridge, and London. These few have now been augmented by other institutions, by groups comprising several cooperating universities, and by an Association Board without explicit academic ties. Although the setting of such exams has long been a university function, it is clear that the university has relinquished the function without a struggle. It is still the ordinary practice of a secondary school to determine which of the various external exams it will use for the whole range of academic subjects in its school.

A few schools allow some choice across academic areas; but the usual practice is to select one board for the whole range. To some extent the choice is determined by the geographic location of the school; but other factors also contribute to the decision, not the least of these being the traditions of the school itself.

Even though the original purpose of the tests was largely if not totally academic, they have had ramifications for students committed to leaving the secondary school before the sixth form for employment. It is not uncommon to find jobs advertised according to the number of such examinations passed. Thus, for example, it is possible to become a post office clerk if one has successfully passed certain O level exams, or an apprentice at some highly skilled work with another combination of subjects attested on the basis of the GCE system. Nor is the effect felt only in the trades or in the civil service; commerical and industrial establishments are apparently in constant search for bright young men to take on significant responsibilities after a few years in the firm--even without university backgrounds.

Wherever they are used, the GCE examinations have a very direct and a very significant effect on the curriculum--more effect than any system of examinations in the secondary schools of the United States. In English, students elect (with teachers' guidance) which examinations will be taken at the conclusion of the fifth and sixth forms, the O level exams being in Language _or_ Literature. Nearly every student takes the Language exam, which has come to be a kind of qualifying device not only for universities, but for commercial and industrial establishments as well. And many select English Literature as they would history or geography. Again at the end of the sixth form, students can select Literature at the advanced or A level.

To complicate things further, examinations in Scotland--although roughly parallel to those in England--are unique in several ways. The Scottish Leaving Certificate Examinations, as they are called, are administered at the fifth and sixth forms toward the Scottish Certificate of Education (SCE). Unlike the English, Scottish schools have only a single sixth form year, during which students prepare for the "higher" examinations corresponding to the A level examinations in England. The second year sixth form in England is by history and by common understanding meant to correspond to the first year of university.

Students preparing for external examinations (in both England and Scotland) are known as specialists, meaning that they have selected that area (and presumably others as well) for study in some depth. All students continue to take English but with a different degree of expectancy and effort. The most direct influence of the GCE on the English curriculum is felt in the literature that is studied by way of preparation. Since examination questions are explicitly designed for particular pieces of literature, it is necessary that the form preparing for the test have a common background in the relatively few readings involved. This is not to say that in a given year all pupils in all fifth forms in England read identical books--there is some variety available and the schools select which of the "set books" will be covered in detail for examination purposes. A recent examination (University of London, O level in English

Literature, Summer, 1965) contains questions on Henry V, A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Devil's Disciple, Frost's Selected Poems, an additional poetry anthology, Silas Marner, Pudd'nhead Wilson, Kipps, My Early Life, A Pattern of Islands, and an anthology of twentieth century short stories. A pupil is expected to answer five questions in all, covering all of the types presented; and there are alternate questions for each of the works of literature. In spite of these alternatives, however, the system implies that a school must teach in a rather detailed fashion at least half of the texts named. Such a restrictive influence on an English program has obvious faults, and by and large the teachers of English attack the system with fervor. But it is still the practice in most of the schools which subscribe to the system (and most of the prestigious schools with a high percentage of Oxbridge-bound pupils have no choice) to spend an entire term reading and writing about the small list of books that have been prescribed. Not uncommon is the practice of spending one day a week on the Shakespeare play, one on the poems in the anthology, and one on the short stories. To the American observers, this practice seemed an arbitrary and fragmented way of academic life at best, but English masters and pupils alike saw no problem inherent in such pedagogy.

The antagonism toward the system of set books has no doubt resulted in the more general use of the language examination compared with the examination in literature. But the main hue and cry has been raised not so much against the system as against the books themselves. Although the example above suggests some attention has been given to what can be called modern literature, a more typical list of books used for GCE purposes would probably include fewer moderns and more texts from earlier centuries--

with emphasis on the nineteenth. To the extent that choices are permitted, most schools veer toward contemporary selections in preparing for examinations. A diet of non-contemporary literature runs counter to the tastes of all but the minority of English teachers, as well as to that of the leaders in the profession. This feeling has fostered a shift in content of the new CSE examinations, a system which has been developed and encouraged along the way by those in the educational establishment who felt the need of an examination that would be more appropriate for the majority of secondary school children than the General Certificate of Education examinations, which were designed especially for grammar school and independent school pupils. Nevertheless, James Britton of the London Institute of Education has stated that "the standards of examination have been well below the level of teaching in English for the past twenty years." Other criticisms of the GCE O level examinations as voiced in the Eight Report of the Secondary School Examinations Council[20] suggest that the exam fosters a false dichotemy between language and literature; does not encourage wide reading; favors mechanical recapitulation of information rather than incisive thinking; distorts teaching into a process of indoctrinating entire classes in how to answer anticipated questions; and produces an unreliable index of language ability since it depends on clearly subjective standards of evaluation by the sometimes arbitrary and always variable criteria of the various evaluators.

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[20] The Examining of English Language. (London: Department of Education and Science, 1964), pp. 19-20.

Reform of the system is underway. As noted above, the quasi-IQ test known as the eleven plus examination has fallen into disrepute and, with the burgeoning enrollments in comprehensive schools, is becoming ever less necessary. Although the GCE examinations continue to hold a prominent position in the system, alternative examinations have already arrived and more are in the offing. Promoted by both the Secondary School Examinations Council and the Newsome report, carefully conceived and administered internal examinations may well replace the older system in the more progressive schools--particularly for the majority of students. What is patently clear, however, is that some system (or systems) of examinations will continue to hold sway and have a considerable effect on the teaching of English. The British are wedded to examinations, and if the marriage is not altogether blissful, it is still an institution of great convenience.

Prompted primarily by what has been construed as a devaluation of the GCE O level examination in Language, the universities--led by Oxford and Cambridge--have instituted yet another examination for those students planning to matriculate in these prestigious institutions. This test, known as The Use of English Examination, is intended to sift out those who were shepherded through the O level exams while still deficient in the fundamental arts of English. Generally speaking, questions require no literary background but are intended to reveal the depth and quality of a student's ability to persuade, explain, and think. The questions below--from several different papers--will suggest the tenor and direction of this examination.

Island in the Pacific

A. Some years ago an advertisement appeared in the Personal column of The Times from a man who had bought a fertile island in the Pacific Ocean. He wanted to establish 100 families upon it, cut off from the rest of the world, to ensure the continuation of the human race if the rest of mankind should be annihiliated in a nuclear war. The advertisement invited anyone interested to submit suggestions on how the community might conduct its affairs in the circumstances which have been envisaged.

Submit your suggestions as someone anxious to take part in this experiment.

B. New towns are being built in many parts of the country. Describe what you would like to find in a new town. Remember that people of all kinds and ages live in such towns.

C. Either, (a) Describe, without diagrams, one of the following objects so as to make clear its appearance and function to a visitor from an alien culture who has never seen the object:

(i) an umbrella;
(ii) a sewing needle;
(iii) a graden spade;
(iv) a tyre lever.

Or, (b) Imagine that, at the age of about 30, you are established in your chosen profession; you have the means and opportunity to build the house in which you may possibly live for the rest of your working life. Describe the site you would choose for the house (given free choice), showing why you have chosen such a site.

Examine the following tables, based on those printed in The Listener of 25 October 1962, and explain in narrative form the changes which have taken place in the period indicated, in

(a) the distribution of television sets, and
(b) the viewing habits of the public.

Table 1. The Public for Television

	Number (July-September 1961) (millions)*	Number (July-September 1962) (millions)
With multi-channel receivers	37.97	40.25
With single-channel receivers	2.98	1.83
Total	40.95	42.08

*Estimated population aged 5 and over: 48.75 m.

Table 2. Patronage of Television on an average day, July-September

	1961 (millions)			1962 (millions)		
	BBC	ITV	BBC and/or ITV[21]	BBC	ITV	BBC and/or ITV
Viewed one or more programmes:						
Multi-channel viewers	16.9	21.1	27.6	18.9	20.9	29.0
Others (single channel viewers and guests)	2.5	0.6	2.8	1.7	0.4	2.0
Total	19.4	21.7	30.4	20.6	21.3	31.0

Table 3. Audiences on an average day, July-September

	1961		1962	
Number (in millions viewing during the hours:	BBC	ITV	BBC	ITV
2-5 p.m. (Sats. only)	4.1	0.9	4.6	0.9
3-5 p.m. (Suns. only)	4.5	2.6	4.5	2.0
5-6 p.m.	2.4	3.2	2.9	2.9
6-11 p.m.	5.1	7.5	5.8	7.3
Total viewing hours	4.7	6.2	5.2	6.0

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[21] ITV is independent television.

There is a certain irony attached to the development of The Use of English tests. Whereas the universities have traditionally held the prerogative for administering examinations to prospective students, the GCE tests have come to have much wider purposes (to provide a scale of employability, among others) and they have also come into some professional criticism; moreover, if the universities have defaulted on their vested interests, they have now reasserted their influence in developing another series of examinations. The interesting point lies in the distinction between the examinations themselves. If the above examples do not illustrate this difference, the mere title, *The Use of English*, points to the current rage for immediately identifiable ability at verbal expression.

This concern with the pragmatic is, of course, closely akin to the aims of the profession at the secondary level. But within the broad context of terminal examinations, the most serious movement is the instigation of a whole new series of external examinations in the form of the Certificate of Secondary Education examinations. In effect, these exams, emanating from any one of a number of centers,[22] provide a half-way house between the O and A level tests, since they include both Language and Literature. They also are more broadly based than GCE tests since they are not pitched exclusively toward the academically talented. As suggested above, the literary portions of these examinations tend toward the modern--recent papers, for example, contain questions on *Kon Tiki*,

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[22] Metropolitan Regional Examinations Board, (London), Yorkshire Regional Examinations Board, etc.

The African Queen, A Man for All Seasons, Of Mice and Men, and Lord of the Flies. In contrast to the type of composition question posed by earlier GCE tests ("Islands," "Waiting Rooms," "Shop Windows," and "All That Glitters Is Not Gold") a typical CSE examination attempts to create a context and provide a point of departure for a writing experience:

> Choose one of the situations described below. Say what you think are the choices involved and then describe fully what action you would take and why you would take it.
>
> (a) Your holiday job is in a shop which, among other things, takes in left luggage. You accidentally drop a suitcase which bursts open. It contains so many old pound notes that it must be part of the proceeds from the Great Train Robbery. What do you do?
>
> (b) You are about to be involved in a strike which you think unjustified. What is your action at the meeting which is to decide the action of your workmates? You do not know how many people, if any, are of your opinion.
>
> (c) Your colleague in the office, who is also a close friend, is taking home each week notebooks, pencils and so on for her small brother. What do you do?

Some adventurous schools, especially newly-formed comprehensives, are now embarking on their own internal examination system as an alternative to the traditional GCE forms. Casual observation of several of these tests suggests a close affinity with the American system in their careful delineation of content and credit, but an apparently greater effort to give the tests importance and integrity. Nevertheless, against the inheritance of external examinations it is hard to conceive that such locally produced tests will have the comparative capacity or the traditional standards, even though such standards are devalued by professional leaders. What is more likely is that the newly developed CSE examinations will be adopted in increasing numbers across England.

Summary

In summary, it is clear that the sometimes subtle, sometimes devious social revolution going on in Britain is felt within the system of secondary schools. The trend for the last 25 years (and possibly dating from an earlier time than that) is toward a more broadly-based, democratized system which is at once a reflection of the society and a structure on which that society is built. It is still a system of multiplicity rather than simplicity--offering great contrasts between schools of different kinds with apparently different aims. It is safe to assume that a good deal of this variety will continue in spite of a vigorous program to develop the schools as the primary device for social leveling. The complex fabric of the schools themselves is matched by an increasingly intricate system of examinations. Lacking a central agency for the development and administration of tests--like our own College Entrance Examination Board--it appears that the British system will not reduce itself to any common denominator. Rather, a multiplicity of examinations, for a variety of schools and a broad spectrum of students, is the tendency of the time.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN ENGLAND, WALES, AND SCOTLAND

> It's an elastic view of the universe. English was everything from preparation for VI form examinations to dance and expression in the lower schools.
>
> I found a noble attempt to liberate children's minds, to excite their imaginations and to eliminate silly restrictions. One could see that these teachers were taking the idea of the "comprehensive" school seriously and were doing all they could to provide education appropriate to each child. There was an exhilirating mood of experimentation and even revolt....
>
> I noticed immediately the lack of a complex and comprehensive theory of subject matter....
>
> The department as a whole denied the significance of the past as a pertinent concern for the present; the past is past, and the present must be lived on its own terms....

Although British schools vary far more than American in kind, purpose, and organization, it was the similarities rather than differences between individual schools which mostly impressed observers. In their common qualities the programs differed substantially from those surveyed during the American Study of High School English Programs.

"I was especially impressed by the sense of positive direction that British teachers of English felt they were taking," reported one observer.

"They were all working to make their society a more democratic one and they were all convinced that English was an important basis of the changes to be made." "British teachers pour their full measure of energy into a new and arduous kind of education, arduous because it emphasizes values more than subject matter, values like imagination, sensibility, engagement, humanism. Because they show so little interest in structures of subject matter, their ways seem strange to American observers." So another summarized his impressions. And again: "The teaching of English in British schools is the teaching of creative response. Involvement in the creative act seems to be the primary goal. . . . There is little of the American concern that the student know a lot about the material he works with or that he be able to respond in technically correct ways. Feeling and doing, not knowing, are the critical concerns. While the end product of the American educational system is the critic, the end product of the emerging British system is the artist."

The new English programs impressed even the most critical American observers, who found that, at least in the lower forms, the approaches "make for better writing and a generally more humane educational environment." The absence of such formal English studies as grammar, rhetoric, or literary history troubled Americans who had been striving to help schools develop a carefully sequenced program of subject matter, but most felt that British teachers imposed another kind of sequence of their own: "The teaching...was very often structured and intentional. Though the teachers work primarily by means of stimulation, they very carefully move from simple responses to complex ones, including finally and frequently, some kind of writing."

Not always did the emphasis on response, emotional involvement, and social reform move American observers to approval. To some the trends smacked of old-line Progressive Education: "No doubt this progressive impulse is best understood (1) as a reaction against the stultifying policies of Oxbridge and the examiners, and (2) as a manifestation of the general trend toward liberalization and democratization which is sweeping British education and which is most clearly expressed in the "comprehensivization" of their secondary schools. To an American observer all this may look a bit old hat. We no longer worry much about stimulating free discussion in the classroom; if anything our students might stand a little more trammeling. Nor does some Higher Establishment--say, a syndicate of Harvard, Yale and the College Board--dictate what will be taught in our schools. Thus it is difficult for us to share the militant zeal for emancipation and reform which was expressed by the leaders in London and by young teachers we met in the field."

Obvious parallels with American Progressive Education of the Thirties struck most Americans faced with the unexpected zeal for child-centered, experience-centered programs. Like Progressive Education, the educational revolution underway in Britain is related to the changing role of the school in society; and like the Progressive Educators the British are genuinely concerned with the development of each individual child. But here the similarities end. In English classes, at least, one finds little of the concern with the processes of thinking characteristic of John Dewey and his followers, even less with educational psychology and the nature of learning. British teachers are concerned with the social consequences of education; hence the attempt to make schools less selective and more democratic. But few teachers are generally aware of the social basis of their children's language, or the impact of home and community on the attitudes and language of students, or the need to relate school and classroom to the child's experience of society and the world. Despite the superficial similarities with Progressivism as it developed in America, the teaching in British schools is almost entirely oriented to the classroom situation and to the imaginative and linguistic development of each child. Intellectual growth is almost entirely neglected, as is any long term perspective on the results of instruction. The best preparation for tomorrow may well be the richest participation in today, but the present emphasis is directed toward neither the transformation of society nor the life adjustment of the individual, concepts close to the core of American Progressivism.[23]

The School and the English Program

Just as observers in the earlier National Study of High School English Programs in America felt that the intellectual and educational commitment of the building principal established the fundamental tone of the school and thus directly affected the English programs, so observers in the British Study pointed to the important role of the headmasters: "A remarkable group. They are far superior to any high school principals I have known. The tone, quality, and staff of most of the schools I visited must be attributed in large measure to the headmasters."

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[23] An interesting analysis of other differences between Progressive Education and the current educational reform movement in Britain appears in Joseph Featherstone, "Teaching Children to Think," New Republic, (September 9, 1967), pp. 15-19.

Able, articulate, concerned almost entirely with the quality of the educational program, headmasters operate with an autonomy almost unknown in American education. The lack of dependence of all schools--public as well as state supported--on locally voted funds frees the headmaster from continual concern with local service clubs and community leaders, the bane of too many American administrators; the tradition among British parents of non-interference in the educational process removes other outside distractions. Selected by the governing board of each school from a number of candidates almost always from other districts, the headmaster can be an educator and not a politician.

The traditional separation of school and community is in many ways a mixed blessing, however. Eliminated completely are such problems as the censorship which plagues American teachers and librarians. But eliminated also is local support for improved teaching conditions. Many of the school buildings seemed to Americans "cold, dim, dirty, and non-functional," to the point of being a serious obstacle to education. In America, the sparse libraries and inadequate classrooms in some of these schools would lead quickly to a local bond election. In England, however, each school receives its grant from county authorities and they in turn from the central ministry, a hierarchy which makes impossible any local action to improve conditions.

But in terms of English programs, the freedom of the headmaster to solve educational problems in educational terms is a unique blessing. The system works well when the men in charge have vision, imagination, intelligence, and a sound philosophy of education; these were the qualities we usually found.

Strengths of English Programs

In their final assessment of each school, observers were asked to describe the dominant strengths of the English program. Their judgments, codified from the original essays, are presented in Table 2.

In the United Kingdom, as earlier in the American study, observers were most impressed with the quality of the teachers. Their knowledge, interest, and missionary zeal were frequent cause for comment. There were few of the tired dissidents, who seem to clutter established American high schools, impeding progress and innovation. Most of the teachers observed had not been teaching even a decade earlier, suggesting that the radicalism of some programs may be due as much to the rebellious spirit of youth as to the power of new ideas. The vast expansion of secondary education, the opening of new teacher education positions in the colleges of education, and the forced mobility of teachers (described in Chapter X) have swept a new generation intent upon educational and social reform into these schools. Curiously, the honors graduates from the universities, themselves often the products of a selective grammar school education, were pacing the new developments. That they also knew literature in English, even when they sometimes refused to teach it, should come as no surprise.

The competence of the English department chairmen also merited considerable praise. The better chairmen in England and Scotland, like their counterparts in American schools, offer genuine intellectual and professional leadership to those within their departments. Given time and salary as befits his position (some are paid one-third more per year

Table 2

Strengths of English Programs Identified by Observers

(n = 73 observer reports on 42 schools)

Rank		Total	England and Wales (35 schools, 60 reports)	Scotland (7 schools, 13 reports)
1	Quality of Teaching Staff	43	37	6
2	Competence of English Chairman	27	20	7
3	Program in Drama	18	18	0
4	Program in Creative Writing	14	14	0
5	Program in Literature	13	7	6
6.5	Provision for Lower Tracks and Slow Learners	11	11	0
6.5	Provision for Guided Independent Reading	11	10	1
8	Teaching of Writing	9	6	3
10	Supply of Books for Class Reading	8	8	0
10	Adequacy of Library Facilities	8	8	0
10	Quality of Students	8	7	1

Other: Oral English 7, audio-visual aids 6, relations within department 5, experimental attitude 5, independence of teachers 5, fluidity of programs 3, involvement of pupils 3, oral reading 3, teacher-student relations, TESOL program, program for able youngsters, film study, curriculum sequence, methods used, flexibility of programs, emphasis on social development, mass media, sense of order.

than the most experienced classroom teacher), the English chairman develops the syllabus or program of studies in English, supervises the purchase and distribution of books and instructional materials, consults with the headmaster on the employment and assignment of teachers, and works with teachers to improve their classroom approaches. Though observers also reported more than a few schools in which the chairman had only nominal functions, this occurs less frequently in the United Kingdom than in the United States simply because chairmen are selected especially for and hold tenure in their particular tasks. Seldom is the English chairman selected from among the teachers within the school; never is length of service considered. Vacancies are announced; candidates are interviewed; and the chairman best qualified to provide the necessary leadership appointed. The system has much to commend it.

Five aspects of British English programs were rated highly by American observers: programs of improvised drama, uses of creative and imaginative writing, programs of extensive reading (called "home reading" in Britain), programs for the slower or non-college student, and programs in literature.

These strengths are strikingly different from those noted in American schools. Solid programs in teaching composition (ranked second in the National Study) were mentioned in fewer than 12 percent of the reports. "Resources Available for Teaching," "Climate of Work in the Department," "Light Teaching Load," "Experimentation and Innovation"--all impressive in the better American programs--are not factors to be considered in Britain. What is impressive, aside from exciting teachers and competent chairmen, is the focus on active, personal, imaginative response--in improvised drama, in imaginative writing, and in reactions to literature. From these aspects of British programs, described in detail in the chapters which follow, American schools have much to learn.

The rather favorable assessment of programs for slow learners or non-college students also bears careful scrutiny, in light of the failure of most American English programs to deal adequately and imaginatively with this problem. An observer outlines the differences:

> Whereas when I finished my observation of American high schools I came away depressed by the inadequate handling of the lower track students, I left England with a much more positive feeling. On reflection I am convinced that the emphasis on oral English and creative and personal writing has much to teach American high school teachers, particularly teachers of the lower half of the student intelligence range. When I visited American schools, I was appalled by the teaching of the lower track students, and sometimes of the average students as well. The lower track students were taught best by teachers who were specialists in speech correction and/or remedial reading. Obviously not many teachers possessed such qualifications. In fact, in the schools I visited and talked to other observers about, the general practice was to assign some lower track students to each teacher. Most of the teachers complained that they were unequipped to do an adequate job. Certainly their performances were uninspired; no wonder the students did not respond.
>
> In my opinion our high school teachers could do a much more competent job of teaching the lower track students if they were trained to teach the kind of oral and written expression that I observed in England. This is not to say that teachers of the lower track (indeed all teachers since all teach some lower track students) should not have training in such technical matters as speech correction and remedial reading. I only urge we recognize that these technical specialties need not form the core of training for teachers of lower track students. Indeed the British system suggests that one must primarily be an educated, humane person to teach those in the lower track. We now frighten our teachers when we emphasize the technical end of training for such

> students. The core of their training needs to create an awareness of the great variety and possibilities of language open even to the socially and intellectually deprived (short of the uneducable, of course). They would have to be taught a kind of patience and permissiveness that our emphasis on correctness (by contrast with the early years of British training, I mean) undermines. In short I am convinced that the goal of expressiveness which the new British teaching of English achieves and the way it is achieved could be a very valuable aid in helping to solve the gravest problem of American secondary education.

The teaching of slower students is not uniformly excellent, however. Programs in the secondary modern schools--which deal primarily with a general non-academic student body--tend to be carefully considered and planned with considerable enterprise. The newer comprehensive schools, however, seem to be falling into the trap of so many American institutions. Faced with a diverse student body and the need to provide programs for all, schools too frequently concentrate on their university-bound students, those who will ultimately be tested by external examinations. Exciting individual classes for slower students were reported in abundance, but carefully conceived overall programs were far more difficult to discover in the comprehensive schools.

Weaknesses of English Programs

The lack of continuity and sequence in the English programs of schools in Scotland, England, and Wales troubled observers more than any other factor. (See Table 3.) In part this was the result of the intense concern with affective rather than cognitive responses, an emphasis reflected too in the other weaknesses listed by observers. Programs in literature neglected not only literary history but key works of the great

Table 3

Weaknesses of English Programs Identified by Observers

(n = 73 observer reports on 42 schools)

Rank		Total	England and Wales (35 schools, 60 reports)	Scotland (7 schools, 13 reports)
1	Lack of Sequence and Organization in English Curriculum	34	31	3
2	Inadequacy of Teaching Staff	23	22	1
3	Program in Composition	18	14	4
5.5	Program in Literature	17	17	0
5.5	Inadequate Planning of Classroom Instruction	17	17	0
5.5	Lack of Concern with Cognitive Learning	17	16	1
5.5	Program in Language	17	14	3
8	Inadequate Library	14	14	0
9.5	Methods of Teaching	8	8	0
9.5	Program in Oral English	8	5	3

Other: Fragmented assignment of teachers 7, headmaster 6, lack of time 6, inadequate physical facilities 6, emphasis on exams 6, overemphasis on drama 5, lack of equipment and AV aids 5, English chairman 4, overloaded teachers 4, lack of supervision 4, slavish use of texts 4, mobility of teachers 2, lack of evaluation 2, premature specialization, lack of innovation, program in reading, unrealistic education, lack of career program for girls, program for slow learners, mechanistic, lack of Scottish literature, inhibited expression.

English literary tradition. Teaching designed to evoke immediate emotional response was rarely planned in advance. Lack of attention to the direct study of rhetorical principles, grammar, usage, or the history of the language is reflected in the cumulative reactions. So is concern with inadequate library facilities, a factor to be discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

The inadequacy of some teachers of English ranked high among weaknesses reported, but for very different reasons than had developed during the American Study. In the American schools visited, most of the mediocre teachers had completed undergraduate majors in English. Basically well prepared, they lacked the spark, the interest, the sense of involvement that makes a classroom come alive. In Britain, those holding university degrees in English tended to retain a sense of the vitality of their subject. Less competent teachers were usually non-specialists educated in a general training college course. Lacking any real instinct for the nature of language and literature, they frequently planned mundane lessons, relied completely on textbooks, or slavishly followed the form of the school syllabus. The problem is particularly aggravated in the secondary modern schools and in some of the comprehensive schools, where headmasters have difficulty securing a sufficient number of degree specialists to staff existing classes. (In England, as in America, well qualified teachers of English are in short supply.)

But aside from the neglect of cognitive learning, the essential problem of English teaching in the United Kingdom is discontinuity. A short review of the existing pattern of studies will show why.

The program in English is divided into six forms, roughly approximating the six years of American secondary education. Each form consists of a year's course with the exception of the sixth, which (except in Scotland) requires two years. The program for the first four years, however organized, provides general education in English for all students. The program in forms V and VI consists of preparation dictated largely by a series of external examinations. Secondary modern schools, concentrating on non-selected pupils who leave school at or near the school leaving age of 15 years (to be advanced to 16 years in 1970), normally provide only for the first four forms, although provision is made in some schools for a small number of pupils to remain for work leading to a Certificate of Secondary Education. State-supported grammar schools and all independent schools, the overwhelming majority of whose pupils are preparing for some kind of higher education, have large fifth and sixth form classes. Such classes are also offered by comprehensive schools for pupils who plan to go onto college or university.

Whether offered in a modern school, a grammar or independent school, or a comprehensive school, English programs in forms I-IV resemble in purpose (if not in characteristics) the general English classes of most American high schools. The program is determined by the school, the extent of academic or non-academic emphasis varying with the characteristics of the classes, and success is evaluated by the teachers, rather than by the percentage of pupils completing an external examination. Classes normally meet for six forty-minute periods each week, although some schools offer only five and a few offer only four periods. The classroom activities are those Americans are familiar with: speaking, reading and literature, language activities, drama, writing, study of mass media. But the relative emphasis on these diverse activities differs from that of a typical American classroom.

Class periods in the schools studied averaged 39.1 minutes, with no interval allowed for pupils changing classrooms. In large or rambling school buildings--and there are many of them--pupils require from five to ten minutes to move from class to class, often reducing the time available for instruction to considerably less than half an hour. In some schools teachers have one double period available for English each week, an advantage partially offset by the universal practice of scheduling classes to meet at different times each day. A class may thus meet at 9:30 on Monday, 11:30 on Tuesday, 2:00 p.m. on Wednesday, and so forth. The flexibility in programming would be envied by some American reformers: it makes possible occasional one or two hour classes, employment of part time specialist teachers; and maximum use of specialized rooms (science rooms, library, special rooms for drama, and so forth). Unfortunately it also creates its own rigidities. Staff scheduling becomes so complicated that it is not unusual to find lower form English classes meeting with at least two different teachers during their six periods of work, one of the teachers often an instructor in another subject area who happened to be free during the period when the class was scheduled to meet. Moreover, scheduling classes to meet at different times each day encourages teachers to plan each lesson independently, so that the flow of instruction from class to class is broken and erratic. Thus it is not unusual to find a lower form studying poetry on Monday, writing on Tuesday, drama on Wednesday, speech on Thursday, and some other activity on Friday, with little if any attempt to relate one day's work to another's.

Although British specialists on the teaching of English have repeatedly spoken out against such practices, day-to-day planning is perpetuated by the present system of scheduling (which virtually all British teachers support and accept).

Most programs for the four lower forms stress the creative approaches to teaching discussed earlier in this chapter: improvised drama, imaginative writing, personal response to literature, and a large amount of informal classroom discussion. Instruction is centered on the pupil--*his* interests, *his* response, *his* view of the world.

Not so fifth and sixth form English classes, where the rigid pattern of external examinations, with set books on which pupils will be examined in detail, dictates instructional emphasis. Gone is much of the creative writing, the drama, the informal classroom talk. In their place, lectures and discussions on individual texts, précis, and expository writing. No wonder American observers noted so sharp a break between the fourth and fifth forms: "There is a noticeable and sudden shift of gears in the fifth form as they settle down to preparing for the examinations. The masters drive the students hard and the students respond by working hard. Moreover, there seems to be a kind of kinship between students and masters as they both face the common and seemingly anonymous enemy--the external examinations." (See Chapter II for a discussion of these examinations.)

In the disjunction in practices, observers sensed an inability to reconcile disparate motives for teaching English. The pupils themselves often wonder about the shift; some would like continued practice in drama or creative writing; others wish they had had better early preparation for the rigorous emphasis on content, particularly literary content, in the upper forms. Teachers sometimes see no answer except abolition of the exams and, indeed, in a few selected comprehensive schools a liberalized GCE in English has been substituted for the hated O level.

But it is also possible that much of the freedom allowed in earlier forms may be due to the system of external examinations. Society will always demand some assurance of quality in education. In America this assurance is attempted, perhaps hopelessly, through the creation of detailed, sequential courses of study which tell the teacher what and sometimes even how to teach. In the United Kingdom, teachers are free to plan any instruction they choose in the lower forms, providing only that students secure a sufficiently large number of passes on the O and A level exams.[24]

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[24] Scottish schools seem more like American schools in this respect. Only the fifth form O level is as yet widespread in Scotland, and it tends to be of a somewhat less fixed pattern than O levels in England. Scottish students often move to the university earlier than students in England and take a much less specialized course. Conversely, Scottish schools tend to prescribe more course content than do English schools, teach more English grammar, and devote less attention to creative writing and improvised drama.

Content Emphasized in British Classrooms

During visits to British schools, American observers spent 13,860 minutes observing and analyzing classroom instruction. The instrument used to record these observations was identical to that developed for the American Study. Thus, allowing for minor changes in the team of observers, the data are comparable.

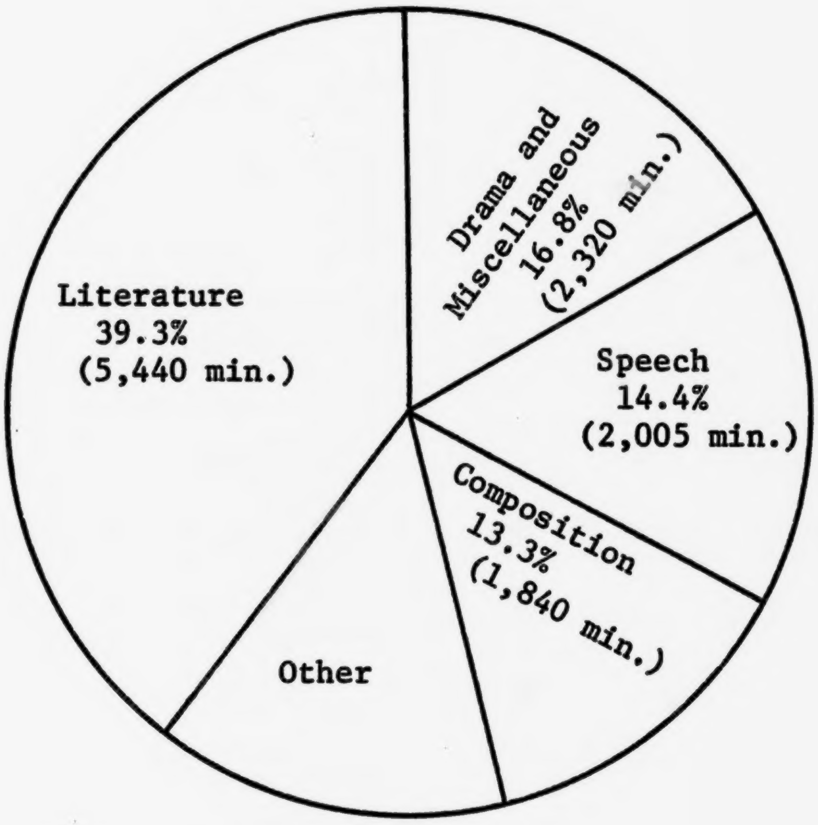
Figure 1 presents a comparison of the content emphases in British and American classrooms. It should be noted, however, that the data on British programs were gathered in forms I-VI, thus reflecting the total secondary program, whereas American data represent only grades 9-12.

The major differences are those already suggested. Over half of instructional time in American classrooms emphasizes literature, whereas less than 40 percent of class time in British schools is concerned with literary topics. Emphases on writing and composition are roughly parallel, but British teachers spend far less time on language study (6.1 percent) than do their American counterparts (13.5 percent). Speech (14.4 percent) and drama (16.8 percent) both loom large in British classrooms, though relatively deemphasized in America. That classes devoted to drama had to be included under a "Miscellaneous" category by observers because the American instrument did not provide a separate heading is itself a commentary on how deep are some of the differences in practices in the two nations. Significantly, perhaps, teachers in neither country emphasize the newer media in their classrooms.

The stress British classrooms place on oral and written expression becomes even clearer when the content emphasis for various forms is

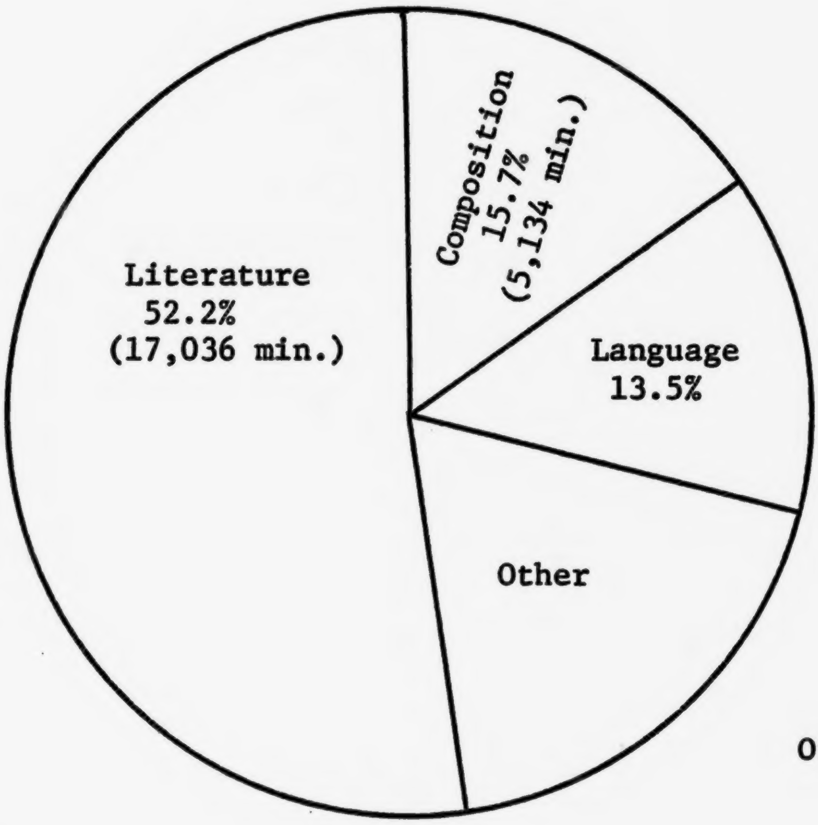
FIGURE 1

CONTENT EMPHASIS IN CLASSROOM TEACHING
BRITISH AND AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOLS



British
(n = 460 classes in 42 schools)

		Percent	Minutes
Other:	Language	6.1%	850
	Reading	6.1%	850
	Mass Media	2.3%	315
	No Content	1.7%	240



American
n = 1,609 classes in 116 schools)

		Percent	Minutes
Other:	Speech	4.9%	1,662
	Reading	4.5%	1,411
	Mass Media	1.3%	424
	No Content	0.8%	273
	Miscellaneous	7.1%	2,254

identified separately. (See Table 4.) In forms I-IV, the equivalent of the American grades 7-10, only one-fourth to one-third of class time is devoted to literary study. Speech, drama, and writing are given much attention. Even mass media receives some stress, particularly in the fourth form of secondary modern and comprehensive schools, the last course for non-college students. Here British teachers tend to emphasize such things as an awareness of the persuasive devices of advertising and the skills needed in reading the newspaper.

After the fourth form, the data reflect the sudden shift in the aims of English instruction as the external examinations draw nearer. Indeed, the program for forms V and VI resembles that in American schools. Except for somewhat less stress on composition, British teachers of sixth form students, like their counterparts teaching the twelfth grade, offer a largely literary education. British teachers can to some extent ignore the teaching of writing at this level, because it will not be directly tested. The A level examination concentrates solely on English literature.

The differences between fourth form and tenth grade teaching are more representative of the distinctions in general English classes. American teachers stress literary study, place much store by language instruction, provide some attention to speech (often through oral book reports and similar formal tasks). Their British counterparts spend less time on literature, about the same on composition and writing (usually "creative"), provide some work on the new media, virtually ignore direct instruction in language, and stress informal spoken English and classroom drama.

Table 4

Content Emphasized in Forms I-VI

Percent of Class Time Devoted to:

Form	Literature	Composition	Language	Reading	Speech	Mass Media	Drama and Miscellaneous	No Content	Total
I (2,345 min.)	23.2	11.5	3.2	7.0	26.7	1.7	25.2	1.5	100.0
II (2,392 min.)	25.6	17.6	10.7	12.4	10.4	1.7	20.5	1.1	100.0
III (2,345 min.)	28.8	19.2	10.7	3.6	15.3	0.9	18.3	3.2	100.0
IV (2,398 min.)	36.0	13.7	5.4	1.7	15.7	10.2	14.4	2.9	100.0
V (2,075 min.)	62.6	9.6	7.5	3.4	9.9	0.0	7.0	0.0	100.0
VI (2,305 min.)	67.0	6.1	0.0	6.1	4.6	2.6	12.1	1.5	100.0

Nothing so clearly reflects the different views as does the content emphasized in classes for non-academic pupils in the two countries. (See Table 5.) Here the widely-praised British approaches, which seemed to observers infinitely more effective than those in programs visited in America, might be called non-literary. For these pupils, most of whom have severe problems in reading, the emphasis in the United Kingdom is clearly on the skills and experiences related to personal expression--writing (22.5 percent), drama (10.9 percent), informal speech (17.6 percent), even the skills of reading (13.2 percent). Contrast this portrait with the relentless American attempts to teach literature (40.8 percent) and to improve language skills (19.9 percent), usually by drill or prescriptive grammar study. Qualitative differences in the attitude of teachers and the response of pupils are just as striking, as is made clear in Chapters IV and VI of this report.

Methods Emphasized in British Classrooms

With the exception of drama, dramatic activities, the methods used by British teachers seem not to differ radically from those introduced in American classrooms. (See Table 6.) Both groups talk to students about 20 percent of the time, Americans relying somewhat more on recitation (22.5 percent to 16.3 percent), but also more on discussion (19.5 percent to 15.2 percent). Student presentation is somewhat more frequent in Britain and, of course, improvised drama, but in neither country do teachers rely heavily on small group work, Socratic questioning, or audio-visual aids. The rejection of audio-visual equipment by

Table 5

Content Emphasized in Selected British and American Classes

Emphasis Reported By Observers	Percent of Class Time		Percent of Class Time		Percent of Class Time	
	British Form IV n = 2,398 min.	American Grade 10 n = 9,410 min.	British Form VI n = 2,305 min.	American Grade 12 n = 9,602 min.	British Non-Academic Classes n = 1,600 min.	American Non-Academic Classes n = 3,618 min.
Literature	36.0	46.0	67.0	61.5	18.1	40.8
Language	5.4	21.5	0.0	8.4	7.8	19.9
Composition	13.7	14.8	6.1	13.9	22.5	15.0
Speech	15.7	7.2	4.6	2.9	17.8	6.5
Reading	1.7	2.8	6.1	3.3	13.2	10.5
Mass Media	10.2	1.4	2.6	1.7	5.6	0.4
No Content	2.9	0.5	1.5	1.0	4.1	2.9
Drama and Miscellaneous	14.4	5.8	12.1	7.3	10.9	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6

Methods Used in British and American Classrooms

(n = 460 classes in 42 British schools)

(n = 1,609 English classes in 116 American schools)

	Number of Minutes		Percent of Class Time	
Method	British Classes	American Classes	British Classes	American Classes
Lecture or Demonstration	2,603	6,709	18.8	21.1
Student Presentation	2,517	4,738	18.2	14.3
Recitation	2,265	7,568	16.3	22.2
Discussion	2,100	5,971	15.2	19.5
Other Methods (largely drama)	1,830	2,178	13.2	6.8
Silent Work	1,635	3,479	11.8	10.4
Group Work	480	618	3.5	1.9
Socratic Questioning	295	814	2.1	2.2
Audio-Visual	135	505	0.9	1.6
Total	13,860	32,670	100.0	100.0

American teachers, especially since equipment is available in most schools, surprises the British consultants who have examined these data. But they know not of the incredible hurdles of red tape which most Americans must surmount to secure such aids for classroom use. In Britain, low usage reflects the economic condition of most schools: aids tend either to be unavailable or in a state of disrepair. Enthusiastic comments at department meetings concerning the use of some audio-visual equipment, particularly the tape recorder, suggested to observers that British teachers would make more use of such aids if the schools could provide them.

Examination of methods used in the various forms reveals differences in the teacher-student relationship as well as modifications in course content. (See Table 7.) Lectures increase substantially in the upper forms as classes begin preparation for the examinations. Recitation looms large through form V (where in large classes teachers were found drilling students on questions that might be asked in the examinations). But reliance on recitation and on silent work drops considerably in the two-year sixth form class, in which a teacher normally meets with a seminar group of only 12 or 14 students, and pupils are given time for independent study. Discussion thus occupies 30 percent of class time.

In view of the decline in both writing and creative expression in the upper forms, the decrease in silent work and classroom drama should come as no surprise. The content and purpose of the programs for forms I and VI are more varied than the differences between English in grades 7 and 12 in America. One would expect the methods to reflect such changes.

Table 7

Methods Emphasized in Forms I-VI

Percent of Class Time Devoted to:

Form	Lecture-Demonstration	Groups	Silent Work	Recitation	Discussion	Socratic	Student Presentation	Audio-Visual	Drama and Other	Total
I (2,345 min.)	3.0	4.3	12.8	18.1	13.2	4.3	26.6	1.7	16.0	100.0
II (2,392 min.)	10.9	9.0	20.9	15.2	8.4	3.3	19.1	0.0	14.0	100.0
III (2,345 min.)	19.2	2.6	15.8	15.8	7.2	0.0	24.7	0.0	14.7	100.0
IV (2,398 min.)	24.1	4.4	5.8	13.7	20.7	1.3	10.2	2.3	17.1	100.0
V (2,075 min.)	23.9	0.0	11.3	24.8	13.0	1.9	17.1	0.0	8.0	100.0
VI (2,305 min.)	32.5	0.0	1.4	11.9	30.4	2.0	11.9	1.7	8.2	100.0

One might also expect to find teachers who specialize in upper form work and those who prefer the lower forms, but this tends not to be the case. Although some headmasters assign only honors degree candidates to teach upper forms, the belief is widespread that a good sixth form teacher is also the most effective at the lower levels. From the work with literature that predominates in form VI, he gains intellectual satisfaction; in the free, creative experiences of the earlier years, he finds a different pleasure. Most six-year schools carefully mix assignments for each teacher, in sharp contrast to the United States, where administrators even talk about special preparation for the junior high school teacher of English, and where some teachers develop specialities in a single grade or area, e.g., American literature, senior composition, or public speaking.

Except for distinctions already noted, a comparison of methods used in the fourth and sixth forms with those in grades 10 and 12 yields no major surprises. (See Table 8.) The British emphasis on drama and student presentation, the American stress on direct teaching of language skills, the shift to seminar groups in the sixth form, and the more diversified American twelfth grade program are variously reflected in the methods used.

Data from non-academic classes, however, shows more striking differences. The American determination to improve language by behavioristic drill results in 28.3 percent of class time devoted to recitation. The British teacher uses this time instead for student presentations--skits, dramatic improvisation, project reports. Here again the British stress may explain some of their success in motivating such students.

Table 8

Methods Emphasized in Selected British and American Classrooms

Method Reported By Observers	Percent of Class Time		Percent of Class Time		Percent of Class Time	
	British Form IV n = 2,398 min.	American Grade 10 n = 9,220 min.	British Form VI n = 2,305 min.	American Grade 12 n = 9,602 min.	British Non-Academic Classes n = 1,600 min.	American Non-Academic Classes n = 3,618 mi
Lecture-Demonstration	23.5	18.9	32.5	21.9	25.0	19.6
Discussion	23.3	14.8	30.4	21.2	6.6	9.2
Drama and Other	14.9	6.9	8.2	6.4	9.4	7.8
Recitation	14.9	28.9	11.9	20.9	6.2	28.3
Student Presentation	10.7	14.9	11.9	14.8	21.6	8.3
Silent Work	4.6	9.1	1.4	8.2	25.0	19.6
Group Work	3.8	1.7	0.0	2.6	4.4	1.5
Audio-Visual	2.8	2.9	1.7	1.1	3.4	1.2
Socratic	1.5	1.9	2.0	2.8	--	--
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Frequency of Selected Classroom Practices

In summary reports of classroom observation in each school, observers were asked to indicate the degree of frequency with which teachers relied on fourteen selected practices. Their rankings on a five-point scale ranging from "Much in Evidence" to "No Indication of Use" indicated heavy stress on classroom writing and wide reading, as well as lack of interest in grammar textbooks, workbooks, reading laboratories, and programmed instruction.

Table 9 compares the practices reported widespread and frequent use in England and Scotland with those observed in the United States. The heavy reliance on a single literary anthology and the use of a grammar textbook, ranked first and second on the American list, have almost disappeared from England, although Scottish schools, still only partially affected by the educational revolution underway to the south, more clearly parallel American practice. Even in Scotland, however, a series of smaller, 100-page anthologies are more likely than the four-pound volume so common in the United States.

The predominant picture of classroom practice in England is one that supports the other observations in the study: much reading using varied materials, considerable writing (especially in class), time for silent work and independent study, individual conferences with the teacher, almost no attempt to restrict the literary content of the program, and a strong antipathy toward any direct teaching of or about language.

Table 9

Classroom Practices Reported in Widespread or Frequent Use

(n = 107 American schools reported by 187 observers)
(n = 35 English and Welsh schools reported by 66 observers)
(n = 7 Scottish schools reported by 14 observers)

	England		Scotland		America	
Classroom Practice	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number
Writing in Class	1	40	1.5	7	3	77
Multiple Sets of Books	2	30	1.5	7	4	76
Classroom Book Collections	3	19	7.5	2	8	28
Silent Reading in Class	4	16	5.5	3	5	32
Remedial Reading Program	5.5	9	5.5	3	11	22
Pupil Conferences with Teacher	5.5	9	11	1	9.5	27
Independent Study	7	8	3.5	5	7	29
Use of Single Anthology	8	4	11	1	1	103
Team Teaching	9.5	3	11	1	12	19
Developmental Reading Program	9.5	3	7.5	2	9.5	27
Use of Grammar Texts	11	2	11	1	2	98
Use of Workbooks	12	1	3.5	5	6	30
Reading Laboratories	-	0	-	0	13	17
Programed Instruction	-	0	11	1	14	6

Overall Judgments of the Programs

On a seven-point scale ranging from excellent (1) to inadequate (7), observers were asked to rate 16 separate characteristics of the schools. That on 14 of the 16 categories the English schools were rated above the designated "average" of 4 indicates the enthusiasm of Americans for much of what they saw. Scottish schools rose above the average rating in only ten categories. But American high schools selected as outstanding had received above-average ratings for only eight aspects of their programs.

A comparison of the differences appears in Figure 2. American programs excel in the variety of methods used, in student response in discussion (partially a reflection of stress on the skills of thinking in better American classrooms), in having an accessible and well stocked library, in general intellectual climate (here again the effect of emphases on knowledge and cognitive behavior), and in some schools in the sequence and balance of instruction in English. (In the latter category American ratings were bimodal, an equal number of programs judged superior and inferior.)

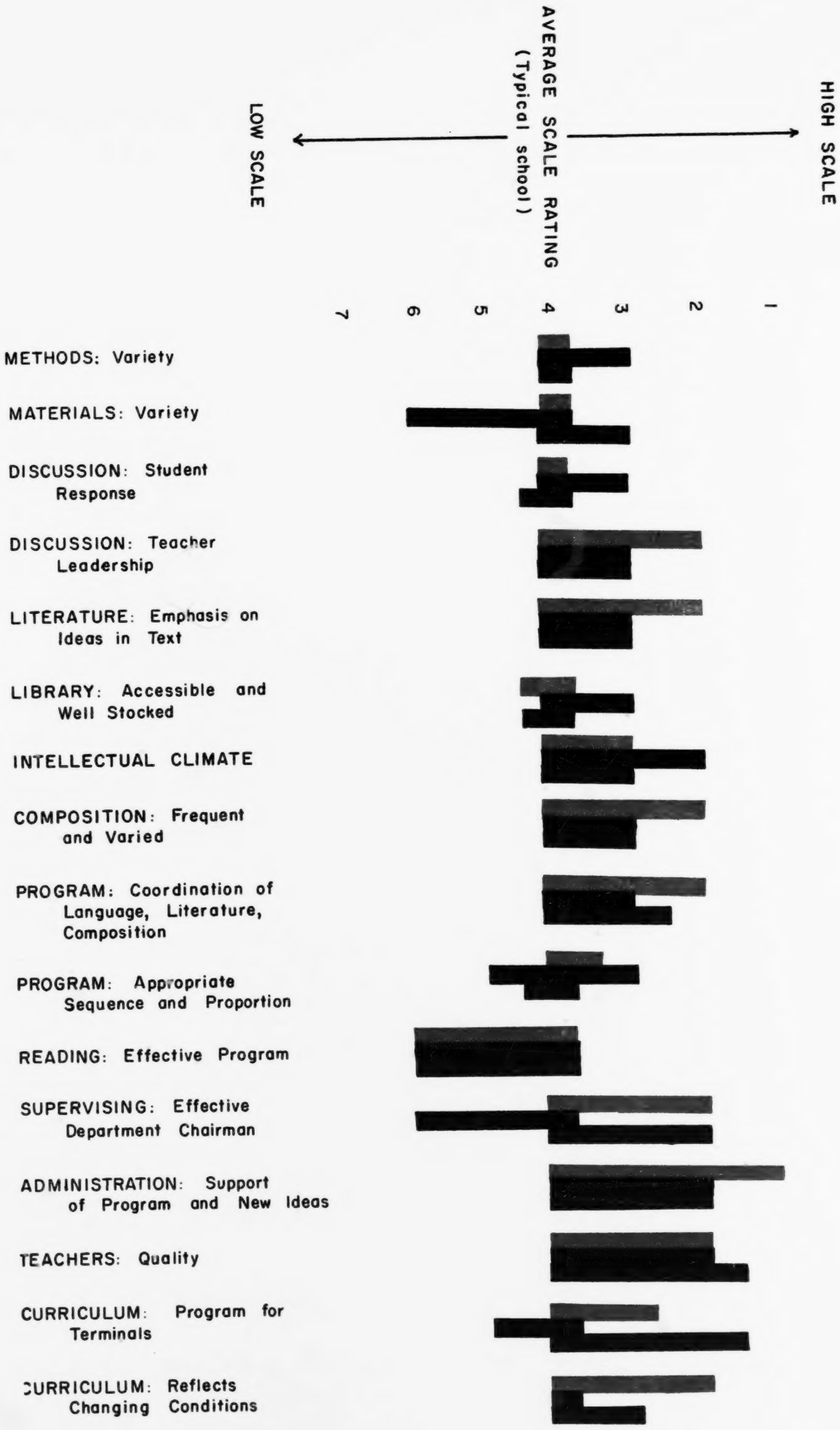
The selected programs in England were found superior in general administration (although both American and Scottish schools rated well above average); strong in teacher leadership of discussion; in emphases on ideas in literature; on providing a varied and balanced program in composition; in coordination of language, literature, and composition (no separate teaching of langauge); in the effectiveness of department chairmen; in programs for terminal or non-academic students; and in planning an English curriculum to reflect the changing conditions of society.

Figure 2

Most Frequent Rating of Schools on Selected Characteristics

(n= 35 English schools, 66 observer reports)
(n= 7 Scottish schools, 14 observer reports)
(n= 107 American schools, 187 observer reports)

Red = English schools
Blue = Scottish schools
Black = American schools



Schools in Scotland, administered separately, follow a pattern similar to that of England and Wales, although they are rated higher for diversity of materials and for programs for non-academic students.

These cumulative judgments, coupled with the overall picture of strengths and weaknesses and the detailed reports on classroom emphasis in content and method offer a composite portrait of English instruction in British schools. Succeeding chapters will describe in detail more specific aspects of the English program, especially those which we have seen to differ considerably from the typical American experience.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF ENGLISH PROGRAMS

> The headmaster of a British school is obviously the ruler of his educational kingdom. He has absolute control of the organization and administration of his school and is able to function without local political or parental pressure. He hires, schedules, disciplines--rules!
>
> The headmasters were a remarkable group, far superior to any high school principals I have known. The tone, quality, and staff of most of the schools I visited must be attributable in large measure to the headmasters.
>
> The only part of the syllabus that is followed almost to the letter is that covering the fifth and sixth forms.
>
> The most unbelievably bad set of textbooks seen on either side of the Atlantic.
>
> The older schools, from the slums of ________ to the shoddy redbrick of _______ and the fake Cathedral-style of ________, are disgraceful--cold, dirty, dim, and non-functional. At some point this ceases to be non-materialistic in the good sense and becomes a serious obstacle to education. At the grammar schools, only science classes and the headmasters are decently housed; elsewhere needlecraft is at the top and English at the bottom.

The organization of departments of English in British secondary schools varies with the size of the institution. In schools of not more than 600 or 700 pupils, the traditional maximum for specialized grammar and secondary modern schools, relationships are informal and departments seldom tightly organized; in larger institutions, administrative responsibility is more formally designated, although not so fully developed as in many American institutions. Except for general administrative policies, decisions are made within the school. Local Educational Authorities, the equivalent of district superintendents in the United States, and inspectors from the national Ministry of Education exert no controlling influence on the development of a program of studies, the selection of teaching materials, the organization of the school day, or the selection of teachers. Thus the headmaster and the chairman of the department are the key individuals responsible for school programs.

The Headmaster and the Teaching of English

The headmaster of a British secondary school is appointed by the school's board of governors after interviews with applicants for the publicly advertised position. For the most part, members of the governing board are local business and civic leaders (or in the case of established public schools, they may be distinguished "old boys" or political and scholarly leaders). The governors are concerned primarily with the headmaster's philosophy of education, not with his ability to placate and balance forces within the community served by the school. Few headmasters are selected from candidates within the school's "catchment" area, fewer still from within the school itself. Tradition seems to dictate that headmasters be appointed from schools outside of the school district or geographical area;[25] in only one instance in the forty-two schools visited in this study had an assistant headmaster been promoted within the school and this was necessitated by the sudden death of the former headmaster. Once appointed, the headmaster is reasonably free to inbue the entire educational program with his own views. To Americans steeped in the subservience of school administrators to local district and community pressures, the freedom of these headmasters seemed incredible. Commented an observer: "One of the amazing features is the authority of the headmaster who, as far as one can tell, is answerable to no one."

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[25] Wales tends to be somewhat of an exception. Largely because of the insularity of the country, a strong tradition of Welsh teacher and Welsh headmasters exists. However, even in Wales, governors seldom seemed to select headmasters from within school districts, preferring rather Welshmen who had some experience in England. Scotland, having an independent educational program, obviously preferred Scots but selected them from throughout the country.

Perhaps because most headmasters were selected for their interest in educational programs, almost surely because they are relatively free from concern with budget and building, local tax and bond elections, and the many vital non-academic interests which require the major attention of the American principal, they seemed to project observers to be more literate, more articulate, and more interested in the problems of instruction than were their American counterparts. Almost universally praised by observers, they were repeatedly described as "educational statemen," "an impressive group," "articulate and intelligent," and "genuinely interested in education." Whether American administrators would have shared this enthusiasm is questionable; almost surely they would have commented (as a few observers did) on the differences in the role of the American principal and the British headmaster. Relieved of the responsibilities of long range financial and budgetary planning, of maintaining close liaison with local service groups, and of submitting detailed reports to higher educational authorities, the headmaster devotes much of his time to educational problems within the school.

Curricular matters are seldom assigned to a staff assistant; indeed the administrative superstructure of even the larger secondary schools seems relatively simple contrasted to those in America. An assistant headmaster or two, a counselor, and perhaps a youth tutor are frequently found, but most are assigned part time teaching responsibilities. With the exception of those in the large new comprehensive schools, most headmasters engage in several hours of teaching each week, often teaching the required classes in religion. They also generally assume personal responsibility for directing the morning assembly, a traditional schoolwide exercise in nondenominational prayer, hymns, lectures, announcements, and inculcation of school spirit.

The program of studies, the selection and assignment of teachers and department heads, the manipulation of the budget within the overall stipend assigned to the school, the development of a syllabus in each curricular area, and the maintenance of discipline--these are the headmaster's overriding concerns, and they assume that his influence is deeply felt. Only in long established public schools and the prestigious grammar schools do academic traditions operate as a check on what he attempts, and even in these institutions the board of governors seeks headmasters amenable to the traditions of the institution so that dislocation and conflict are seldom found. The ways in which headmasters affect programs in English were suggested in reports from observers:

> The headmaster has selected people in the English department for key positions in his administration: the assistant headmaster, the counselor, and the youth tutor are all part time members of the English department and the Head of Humanities was head of the English department. With such leadership it is evident that the agreement on the importance of English as a means of communication was established even in so new a school.

> By judicious selection of the present department head, by careful manipulation of assignments, by continuing to teach in the department, and by seeing that a coursebook series written by him is the basis for the program, the headmaster is satisfied that the department continues as he would like it to. Consequently, he gives it more than a fair share of his attention and affection. Indeed, although the whole appropriation for the library last year was £250, by transfer of funds he spent more than £1,000, with the lion's share going to English.

If English doesn't receive a "lion's share" of attention in the majority of schools visited, it at least is regarded as a subject of primary concern--quite probably a reflection of the manner in which these schools were chosen. Quite likely British schools pioneering in science or mathematics education are administered by headmasters with a special interest in these subjects.

But if these administrators are unusually concerned about language, literature, and the humanities, they differ among themselves as to how a broad education is best achieved. Highly specialized, departmental instruction in academic subjects, with traditional emphases modified only slightly by new social forces, is apparent in the well established grammar and public schools. Describing such an institution, one observer commented that it "would compare very nearly to American schools such as Andover and Exeter, and more specifically, St. Paul's School." He noted not only that the school is composed of a cluster of buildings and located in a small village--"some modern, some dating back several centuries"--but that the juxtaposition of traditional and modern elements is reflected in the rigid discipline and school uniforms contrasted with audio-lingual language laboratories and a strong modern science program.

In another relatively remote village school, the headmaster believes he is "molding not just a school but a community." By giving the community not only what it wants but also "what he thinks it needs," he feels that over a period of years he can transform it into one of at least a modestly superior cultural level. Thus the school becomes a community center, doubling as the public library and used on evenings and weekends for club meetings, film showings, musical events, athletic activity, and the like.

In most academically-inclined institutions, the headmaster is firmly committed to specialized preparation in English, to the employment of university graduates with college majors in the subject, and to the assignment of English classes to specialists in English. In many secondary modern and comprehensive schools, however, a pronounced generalist attitude toward learning was found. "We don't teach English, we teach children," the visitors were frequently told. "If all teachers functioned well, we would not need an English department." Thus it is not surprising that many of these schools, especially those not preparing young people for GCE examinations in English, employ a higher percentage of non-specialists, assign many English classes to teachers who lack professional preparation in the subject, and place less emphasis on academic learnings. For the most part the headmasters of such institutions are committed fully to the social purposes of education. If children can learn to express themselves through language without formal instruction in English, they would not be reluctant to abolish the subject. They encourage drama and dance as ways of "socializing" unruly pupils; they support much non-verbal activity in art, music, and physical education; and they foster project work relating English activities to science, social studies, or community service. They care little for tradition and will introduce almost anything which may contribute to their acknowledged goal of helping "each pupil make the most of himself." Observers often felt that the high priority placed on activity and engagement matched well "the dominant hunger of the children," pointing out that the non-academic nature of the programs carried out the avowed social purpose rather well and also made both teachers and students happy: "Few revealed the symptoms of bored resentment to be found among some of our (American) inner-city schools."

In such a system where the tenor of the school is a direct reflection of the headmaster, one of the clues to the rapidly changing educational order can be seen in the freedom allowed each school administrator to develop the kind of program in which he believes. The checks and balances of the American system--attitudes of parents and children, direct intervention by district administrators and school board members, lack of control over faculty selection, distractions of other administrative obligations--are minimal in these schools. Though teachers are no more easily discharged than in American school systems and do not always support the attitudes of their headmaster, "Headmasters," as one Scottish teacher remarked, "have ways of persuading recalcitrant teachers to leave." Considering the near absolute authority the headmaster exercises, a discontented teacher would indeed do well to move on.

The English Department Chairman

The headmaster is appointed by the school's board of governors and has nearly complete authority within the school; the English chairman is appointed by the headmaster and operates with as much or as little authority as the headmaster will allow. His role is peculiar in that it is highly prized, carries with it a stipend of as much as one-third more than that paid a regular teacher, yet frequently permits him no direct authority over his own teachers. Indeed after completing a year's probationary teaching, individual teachers are awarded a tenure-like condition which is virtually unbreakable. The department chairman, who often works with the headmaster in the selection and assignment of teachers, can, and often does, write the syllabus for his department. But whether it is followed or not is a matter of chance and the personality of the chairman. There is nothing in his role which assures compliance.

Even so, the strength of English chairmen in both England and Scotland was noted by all observers. In overall assessments they ranked the competence of the English chairman second only to the overall quality of the faculty among special strengths, citing his unique abilities in two-thirds of the institutions visited (Chapter III, Table 2). Again and again observers commented on the energy and vision of the chairman, his commitment to the larger professional scene, his participation in outside professional activity, his presence as the "driving force behind curriculum revision in the school," his close relationship with the headmaster, his receptivity to new ideas from the staff.

The English chairman operates as a professional and intellectual leader within the school because he is selected for this purpose. He is not appointed because of his tenure on the faculty, nor for his ability to maintain the status quo. When a chairmanship becomes vacant, the headmaster advertises the opening and interviews selected applicants. Seldom do candidates emerge from within the school. More likely they have held positions as assistant department chairmen or as teachers with special responsibilities in another school. Once appointed, they hold the position of chairman as long as they want it. Occasionally this practice "locks in" a chairman unsympathetic to modern views and unable to exercise any effective leadership. (One was called "the most unbelievably inefficient chairman seen on either side of the Atlantic.") More commonly, it attracts the young, ambitious, and knowledgeable teacher who sees the role as a stepping stone to future advancement in the profession. A considerable number ultimately become assistant headmasters; some, lecturers in colleges of education (the movement from school to college is more open in Britain than America); a few become inspectors with education authorities or take jobs in related fields such as publishing.

A composite portrait of the British department chairmen may be gleaned from the interviews conducted by the project staff. With one exception, all "read English" at a university, Cambridge being the most frequently mentioned.[26] Sixty percent received first or second class honors degrees; almost 50 percent have Master's degrees, albeit many from universities where the M.A. requires little advanced study. Only

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[26] Through the work of F. R. Leavis and his followers, Cambridge University has been particularly influential on the recent generation of teachers of English. A majority of the advisors to this project were Cambridge graduates or were influenced by the "Leavisite" movement. British inspectors informed the director of the project that outstanding teachers of English are also graduates of Oxford and other universities. However, a majority of the chairmen and many teachers in the schools selected for visitation took their university work at Cambridge. A typical pattern was a B.A. at Cambridge followed by a year's work at the University of London Institute of Education. For further discussion of this phenomenon, see Chapter V on "Literature."

25 percent hold a diploma or certificate in education, a condition likely to change with the recent expansion of post-baccalaureate certificate programs. The chairmen average 13.9 years of teaching experience, 7.2 of which has been spent as a department head either in the present school or in some related school. (Stipends increase with the size of the department; hence there is some tendency for chairmen in small schools to seek a similar position in a larger school.) A large number, particularly in the comprehensive schools, have served as assistant headmaster or headmaster in a smaller institution, with an average experience of 1.1 years in such a position. The chairmen also average 0.39 years of experience as an educational officer (i.e., consultant with a local authority) or an external examiner. On the whole they are unusually well prepared academically and professionally for their positions, a fact to which their publications testify. Slightly more than half have contributed professional articles to various journals; several have edited literature books or contributed to a language and composition series; a number have written reviews of professional books; two have published their poetry; one is a novelist; four have edited texts of familiar literary works; a number have contributed critical articles.

With few exceptions, the chairmen, like the headmasters, are impressive in their carefully reasoned conception of the whys and wherefores of teaching English. This may be largely a result of the selection process, for the individual unable to articulate a point of view would stand little chance in an interview with most headmasters or, for that matter, with the better teachers in each department. Unlike many American department chairmen, who too frequently seem unable or unwilling to consider ends and means in English education, the British chairmen are thoughtful, thoroughly prepared in those areas of the subject deemed important to the school, and highly professional. In the esteem with which they are held by both teachers and headmasters, they are far closer to the American school supervisor than to the typical American English chairman.[27] There is, of course, every reason for the position to be so highly regarded. The typical progression in Britain is from a routine classroom assignment to a post carrying special responsibility (e.g., for the library or newspaper), to an assistant chairmanship, and thence to a chairmanship. For the ambitious and able teacher, not more than three years may be spent in any one of the early positions. Whereas a teacher's salary in England or Scotland during 1967 could range from about £600 to £1,400, depending upon preparation and experience, an English chairman could receive up to £600 additional. The average additional stipend reported received by chairmen in these schools was £466 in England and £401 in Scotland, where schools were a bit smaller.

Yet despite their status and special responsibilities, the English chairmen are first and foremost teachers of English. The English and Welsh chairmen receive an average of only 7.8 free periods during the 40 period teaching week to attend to departmental responsibilities; Scottish chairmen receive only 9.85. This means that for his special duties the department chairman usually has only about four free periods in addition to the four or five which all teachers usually receive. Thus it is not surprising that more than 80 percent of his time is taken up by his own classes, as is shown in Table 10.

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[27] For a comparison, see the discussion of the organization and administration of English departments in the National Study, High School English Instruction Today, Chapter VIII. The investigators in that project found few chairmen actually functioning as supervisors but reported higher quality instruction when the American chairmen had both status and time to provide intellectual leadership within a department.

Table 10

Responsibilities of English Chairmen
(n = 42)

Responsibility	Mean percentage of time reported England and Wales	Scotland
Teaching classes	62.3	67.0
Planning lessons, marking papers	17.8	21.6
Conferring with administrators	4.2	3.2
Staff or department meetings	3.5	3.4
Meeting with parents	1.5	.2
Visiting classes	1.5	2.4
Arranging meetings	1.8	.1
Other	7.4	2.1
	100.0	100.0

When asked to indicate the specific additional responsibilities as department chairman, the largest number mentioned development and revision of curriculum as primary. Aside from this critical task, discussed subsequently in this chapter, they noted the distribution of texts and materials, conferences with beginning teachers, and (occasionally) the selection and assignment of staff. Observers found practice to vary widely, depending upon the relationship between the headmaster and the English chairman, the size and traditions of the school, and the experience of the English faculty. For some, "setting the syllabus" meant a complete, detailed rewriting of the course of study; for others, merely revising or continuing the syllabus already in operation. In most cases, this responsibility involved "setting" the books, i.e., assigning certain texts to each form, choosing the pattern of reading for the upper forms from the alternatives presented by A level and O level examinations, and spending the all-too-meagre funds for new books and instructional materials. "Discussing and spreading ideas," talking informally with staff members, presiding at department meetings--these things seemed to be assumed.

All but a few of the chairmen are consulted by headmasters concerning teaching vacancies in their departments, although the degree of consultation varies from school to school. The chairmen are also responsible in varying degrees for the class schedules, although most frequently scheduling is handled by the headmaster after consultation. Almost inevitably, too, the English chairmen arrange to "cover" classes for absent teachers, not infrequently leaving their own to do so. Observers reported little use of substitute teachers. (One sixth form class of girls was operating on its own some two months after its regular teacher had become ill.)

Only the rare chairman visits classes or directly supervises instruction. A few talk over plans with teachers in advance, but more usually they look over records which the teachers maintain on what they have been doing--"weekly for young teachers, less frequently for all." An occasional chairman will review tests written by teachers or "visit occasionally," but for the most part supervision and coordination are informal and occur on a day to day basis. This seems to work reasonably well in smaller schools where a close, intimate relationship is formed among teachers of English, but in large schools it works not at all and was one reason why observers were disturbed by lack of overall planning and continuity. Moreover, external supervision is nil. Schools are supposedly visited by inspectors from the Local Education Authority (LEA) and nationally from Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI), but only infrequently and then for general assessment rather than evaluation of teaching in a particular subject. Some chairmen reported that they had never been visited by the "HMI's" although existing regulations require a visit every seven years or so. Some had been visited only once in the last ten years; others saw visits occurring more frequently: "once in two years," "annually," "once every five years," and so forth. Especially significant as an index to the lack of external supervision was the surprise with which many chairmen and teachers greeted even LEA inspectors who came to schools for the express purpose of meeting members of visiting teams.

Despite the absence of formal supervision, most classroom teachers appear satisfied. Almost all say they consult the department chairman regularly about problems in teaching and many find the department meetings to be valuable. Above all they value their freedom to experiment with new materials and approaches in the classroom, a freedom to which the nearly inviolate tradition of classroom independence surely contributes.

Formal department meetings are used to coordinate instruction in approximately half of the schools. In the small institutions where only two or three full time teachers of English are engaged, meetings are seldom called and the business of the department is handled informally.

In the larger schools, teachers with similar assignments (e.g., sixth form, O level) meet occasionally. Nor does any pattern emerge for regular meetings called by the chairmen in the larger institutions. "Once a week" meetings were mentioned almost equally with "twice a term," "once a year," and "every three weeks."

Department meetings are less likely to be devoted to routine administrative matters than in America. The assignment of books, collection of tests, and similar problems are handled by the department chairman in informal relations with teachers. Changes in the syllabus are a frequent topic for discussion; as frequently teachers seem to discuss new ideas and methods: film study, extensive reading, general studies, marking O level examinations, and classroom drama are typical problems of interest. Observers reported that where regular department meetings are scheduled, the department chairman usually attempts to use them for continuing education rather than for routine administrative problems--very much in contrast with practice in many American schools.

Assignment of Teachers

More than half of the department chairmen are directly responsible for the assignment of teachers. In most cases where they do not have full responsibility, they are consulted by the headmaster. Practice again varies. In grammar and public schools English is taught by English specialists; in secondary modern and comprehensive schools, a greater number of non-degree generalists from the colleges of education are involved. In most schools only specialists are assigned to forms V and VI, and this practice is sometimes extended to the upper streams of the lower forms as well (contributing to the bifurcation of the profession discussed in Chapter X on "Teacher Education"). Except for these tendencies, however, most English chairmen see that all teachers teach at all levels and even split classes between two teachers to provide "two points of view." In sixth form especially, it is not uncommon for young people to take four periods with one teacher, four with another. Because of the highly specialized nature of instruction, splitting at this level cannot be regarded as more objectional than the practice familiar in American universities of encouraging undergraduates to enroll for three hours in poetry with one instructor, three hours in fiction with another. In the lower forms, where such splitting results from an inability or unwillingness to match teachers and students throughout the school week, it is deplored by many specialists because it can result in serious fragmentation of the program in English. Still, given the traditional practice of rotating classes each day, the practice remains widespread. One observer recorded his reactions to the system:

> School schedules might be considered examples of _in_flexible, staggered scheduling. Eight periods of 35 minutes are scheduled each day, with each English class meeting during a different hour of each day. Because passing time is not allowed, teaching time is reduced to 30 minutes or less. Occasional double periods may help, but for the most part the break in regular scheduling seems to prevent any day-to-day continuity in the English program. Thus it is possible to devote a period to poetry on Monday morning, composition on Tuesday afternoon, language and interpretation at midday on Wednesday, etc., without attempting to relate classroom activities. Even worse, different teachers may be assigned for part of the work, so that young people in a lower form may have literature with one teacher for three hours weekly and writing and language with another for two.

One justification for the staggered schedule is the need to utilize fully both the expensive science rooms and the part time specialized teachers in music, industrial arts, and languages. Another is the need to avoid the injustice of requiring all students to study the same subject at the same hour each day. The British are probably right in suggesting that, for slower students at least, instruction in academic subjects occurring at the end of the school day is less effective than such instruction offered during morning hours.

In any event, for both teachers and students classes are set up on a regularly rotating basis, and a deliberate attempt is made to avoid permanent association of a teacher with instruction at a particular level. Some chairmen were adamant that a good sixth form teacher is a good first form teacher and benefits from experience at both levels. Observers, initially skeptical because of sharp contrast between the heavy academic bias in the upper forms and that upon creativity in the lower, found many teachers who handled both groups with exceptional talent and resourcefulness.

Teaching loads are heavy by American standards. The average teacher meets with classes for 35 or 36 of the 40 periods in a week, in England handling a daily average of 4.6 and in Scotland an average of 6 groups of students in English in addition to other assignments. Although sixth form classes are usually small (twelve to fifteen pupils), the mean size for other groups was reported at 26-30 pupils. In addition, teachers are regularly assigned such extra responsibilities as dramatics, the school magazine, library duty, or supervision of pupils during out-of-class hours--for which they may receive an added stipend of £140 annually and a period or two of free time each week. In comparison with conditions in better American schools, the load seems overwhelming. As Thomas Wilcox comments:

> Perhaps the teacher simply didn't have the necessary information in his memory and didn't have time to work it up. Even in the best schools I visited teachers confront five or six classes each day, and it is hard to see how they can be adequately prepared for all of them. One of the brightest teachers I met...confessed that he really couldn't prepare sufficiently for his classes with the sixth form, where students should be introduced to serious, well-informed interpretations of literature. The suspicion arises that these schools of relatively high prestige are spreading their bright but poorly paid instructors too thin--which may be why the students sometimes seem smarter than their masters.

To some extent the absence of detailed planning, noted by all observers in all situations, may be attributed to the heavy load. Yet detailed advance planning in the American sense is not characteristic of this education. Teachers content to rely on the spontaneous situation to spark significant learning activity do not feel sorely pressed at their inability to plan sequences of questions in advance or to annotate student themes. Although the heavy loads of British teachers appalled most American visitors, the absence of bitterness or complaint from British teachers was even more striking. Whereas teachers in the National Study were wont to complain in interviews about the impossible burden they were carrying, their British colleagues occasionally mentioned such difficulties. The absence of administrative and supervisory pressures, the concern with pupil interaction rather than teacher presentation, and the minimal demands for "coverage" place fewer demands upon the teacher.

Buildings, Books, and Supplies

Also of much concern to American observers were inadequate school buildings, libraries,[28] and supplies of books and learning materials. Here, as with the teaching loads, the difference in economic support of education in Britain and America was clearly apparent. Most schools, for example, plan comprehensive science programs similar to those in America but have fewer laboratories available. Hence they necessarily organize rotating schedules to accommodate as many pupils as possible in the facilities they do have. Many buildings seem crowded, cold, and unsuitable, yet neither teachers nor students expect the comfort and quality characteristic of the American school. Exceptions are many, of course, particularly in Scotland where a large percentage of school funds may be earmarked for expansion and improvement of the school plant, but "inadequate buildings," "dark and cold corridors," "improper lighting," "understaffed and understocked" libraries were mentioned again and again in observer reports.

In the teaching of English, the lack of adequate libraries and classroom book collections is particularly restrictive. The English chairman is given a fixed sum, usually between £100 and £200 depending upon the size of the school, to purchase all books and supplies for the department. In schools with form V and VI classes, priority must inevitably go to the set books needed for the examinations. Composition note books for pupils and other classroom supplies must also be secured with these funds. Thus, most chairmen find themselves limited in purchasing new materials and, to a considerable extent, must encourage use of the old. In one comprehensive school, for example, the chairman reported his budget to be £200 for 900 pupils, an average of around eighty cents for each. In another, not more than £100 was allowed for 1200 boys. So meagre was financial support in this school that the lower forms were restricted almost entirely to reading texts purchased in former years for O and A level classes. To change the four year sequence of language books, the chairman said, would require a seven year allocation of funds. Thus old and often inappropriate texts continued to be read and little attempt could be made to encourage extensive reading.

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[28] Further comments on school libraries are presented in Chapter V.

Not all English programs are as impoverished as the one described, however, and in some instances headmasters assign a larger proportion of funds to the English chairman, a smaller to the central library. In some such cases, the department itself maintains excellent collections of books for classroom use and the school library suffers. Beyond the obvious observation that most schools are far less well endowed than their American counterparts, few generalizations can be made. The more astute chairmen use their funds wisely, purchasing many paperbound titles and few series of textbooks. Most encourage teachers and students to rely on public library facilities and some even borrow collections from the library to supplement titles available in the school. Fortunately, there is at present little reliance on language and composition books, and expensive literary anthologies in the American mold are unknown. By discreet manipulation of available funds and rotation of classroom sets of books, the chairmen get full use from the available texts.

The economic restrictions on educational supplies is also reflected in a general absence of projectors, recordings, and supplementary audio-visual aids. Phonographs (gramophones) are available in most departments and, either through departmental or personal purchase, most have a small supply of literary recordings. Motion picture projectors are available in all schools; a few have television sets installed in an occasional classroom. Tape recorders, however, are very popular among teachers; and although a number were seen, they were far less available than teachers would wish. Filmstrip projectors and slide projectors are relatively rare; machines for teaching reading, unknown. Opaque and overhead projectors, commonplace in American schools, seem to have affected England not at all. Just as few institutions employ professional librarians to organize and maintain the central library, few provide the service personnel necessary to maintain equipment properly, and maintenance is thus a major problem. In one large comprehensive school, observers learned that of fifty tape recorders available, not one was in working order.

During the departmental interviews, teachers were asked: "If your department were given a sizeable increase in annual budget, say a thousand pounds or so, how would you best like to spend it?" The responses present one assessment of present urgent needs:

More books	25 departments
Tape recorders	22 departments
Projectors	14 departments
Drama rooms	14 departments

Record players	9 departments
Pictures, tapes, etc.	7 departments
Films	7 departments
Recordings	5 departments
Field trips	5 departments
Clerical help	5 departments

Additional suggestions were advanced, but the major concern remains obtaining basic learning materials and equipment--or of equipping classrooms with an appropriate setting for the kind of English activity that is so highly valued.

Tables 11 and 12 compare those aids and materials rated most useful and least useful by teachers in the United Kingdom and in the United States.[29] For the majority of items--books, dictionaries, moveable furniture, materials for slow learners, recordings--both positive and negative attitudes are similar. Several striking differences are apparent, however. An overwhelming percentage of British teachers reject workbooks, handbooks on language, and language textbooks, in sharp contrast to American attitudes. These views reflect differences in language instruction discussed elsewhere in this report (Chapter VII). As noted earlier, the British place far greater value on tape recorders (71 percent rating them "essential or very important" contrasted with only 15 percent so rating in America), almost certainly an indication of the stress placed on oral language (Chapter VIII). Americans, on the other hand, seem to have less negative attitudes toward overhead projectors and filmstrip projectors (which observers found unknown in most British schools), less extreme feelings about teaching machines, and, somewhat suprisingly, somewhat less negative reactions to the use of

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[29] Complete data on British teachers evaluations of 23 selected aids are presented in Appendix A.

Table 11

Aids and Materials of Most Value in Teaching English
A Comparison of British and American Attitudes

Rank	Aid or Material	Percent Rating as Essential or Very Important U.K. Teachers (n = 143)	Percent Rating as Essential or Very Important U.S. Teachers (n = 1,331)
1	Duplicating Machine	83.7	90.5
2	Class Sets of Books	77.3	74.1
3	Tape Recorder	71.0	15.0
4	Class Sets of Dictionaries	70.0	86.5
5	Moveable Furniture	68.8	72.7
6	Materials for Slow Readers	63.4	72.7
7	Classroom Library	63.3	51.4
8	Clerical Service	55.4	57.8
9	Phonograph	55.3	48.7
10	Recordings	55.3	54.3

motion pictures, which more than one-third of the British teachers (and 15.4 percent of the Americans) see as unimportant or even detrimental to teaching. With a few notable exceptions, teachers in England, Scotland, and Wales thus respond much as American teachers do. Their failure to use such materials, then, is clearly a reflection more of economic restrictions than of personal attitudes.

The Syllabus for English

A syllabus for English, roughly paralleling the American curriculum guide, is available in most institutions. Created, maintained, and revised

Table 12

Aids and Materials of Least Value in Teaching English
A Comparison of British and American Attitudes

Rank	Aid or Material	Percent Rating as Not Important or Detrimental	
		U.K. Teachers (n = 143)	U.S. Teachers (n = 1,331)
1	Teaching Machine	80.2	59.0
2	Workbooks	71.0	47.0
3	Language Textbooks	63.1	12.5
4	Overhead Projector	53.5	27.0
5	Handbook on Language	46.4	6.1
6	Filmstrip Projector	41.4	21.0
7	Motion Pictures	35.7	15.4
8	Display Table of Periodicals	27.1	19.0
9	Television	27.1	54.0
10	Books for Mature Readers	26.0	14.0

by the department chairman (in consultation with teachers as he wishes), the syllabus is a mimeographed document, usually 15 to 20 pages in length, which outlines the work and emphases for the various forms and which provides information on the books available.

In recently established schools, the syllabus may change with the appointment of a new department chairman, but it is difficult to conceive of a chairman in some of the older and more prestigious institutions changing his syllabus dramatically. Rather it undergoes a slow but continuing evolution. In about one-third of the schools visited, the present syllabus was written by the chairman, normally alone but sometimes in consultation with teachers, within the previous two or three years. In another third, the syllabus is roughly the same that has been used for at least a decade, with minor adjustments such as the addition of materials on drama or creative writing. In most of the remaining schools, the syllabus was not available or was not mentioned; in a few cases the schools had nothing save book lists to guide the selection of titles for reading in each form.

Broad and general rather than specific and detailed in its discussion of instruction, the syllabus helps to interpret for teachers the balance in instruction expected in every form. Except in drama, a new emphasis with which teachers have difficulty, few syllabi reflect interest in the developmental planning so characteristic of American concern for scope and sequence. Most syllabi discuss in well written paragraphs the point of view and purpose of instruction in literature (frequently divided into poetry and fiction), oral work (drama, speaking, interpretation), writing (usage is mentioned in some), and the uses of language. They tend to emphasize those things one finds emphasized in the classroom: drama, creative writing, absence of grammatical and rhetorical instruction. Some syllabi include a few illustrations of classroom activities, but none prescribe skills, concepts, understandings, or "minimal essentials" to be stressed in any form. Less specific and more readable than their American equivalents, they seem to be more frequently referred to and more widely used by teachers. (In American schools the "course of study" can be so large as to discourage teachers from practical use.) One has no feeling that the syllabus in the United

Kingdom is a public instrument for convincing school administrators or the public at large that the school is discharging its responsibilities; rather the syllabus remains a private document for communication within the department.

But the lack of sequential planning coupled with the general absence of supervision only compounds the problem of articulation of English studies which so troubled American visitors. Cited as the glaring weakness by almost all observers (Chapter III), the fragmentation in day-to-day instruction and the shift in content and method from lower to upper forms must remain in American eyes a notable deficiency. In many ways the exceptional freedom to choose and teach what one wishes, so lauded by British teachers, is thus a sign of weakness as well as strength. The informal atmosphere makes it possible for chairmen in smaller schools to be in more certain touch with what is going on then is usually the case in comparable American institutions, but in many of the larger schools the absence of any advanced planning results in a chaotic program characterized by considerable repetition of classroom activity and resulting surely in gaping holes in student knowledge.

Implications for American Schools

So differently are the schools of America and the United Kingdom organized that it is difficult to conceive of administrative and supervisory practices in one nation being applicable to the other without extensive modification. Better supplied and housed than their British friends, American teachers and students are clearly more rigidly "processed."

One could wish for less pressure and more flexibility in American programming, more interchange among teachers, more opportunities for the English chairman and staff to exchange ideas, but all without the lack of long range planning currently creating problems in Britain. Certainly no one who views the limitations placed on British teachers by the economic necessity for restricting department and library budgets will fail to appreciate the opportunities made available to our schools and teachers.

One wonders, however, whether greater exchange among teachers and students could not be achieved in this country. Morning coffee hours for the entire school (twenty minutes is characteristic in most British schools), long lunch breaks (an hour or more is common), afternoon tea--these provide time for conversation and interchange; and secondly, these occasions are useful symbolically--to remind teachers that they are professionals, something more than corridor policemen. For the faculty, frequent and regular departmental sessions devoted to the serious problems of education are needed in America no less than in British schools.

In the light of successful British practice, the reliance in the United States on recruitment and appointment of staff members by district personnel officers removed from the immediate school and unaware of its problems clearly is a detriment to the development of programs and morale. Conversely, enthusiasm and competence for the job at hand are high when teachers are selected by the administrators and chairmen who know the school and the unique characteristics and requirements of the department.

One of the major reasons why change and innovation can come so quickly within British schools--and by contrast why it comes so slowly within American institutions--is the great mobility of the profession. New ideas spread quickly as staff members move from school to school, a movement encouraged by uniform salary schedules throughout England and Wales. Although entrenched American practices are not likely soon to be changed, the British experience suggests that many American districts could wisely consider modifying current policies to encourage the introduction of more "fresh blood" from outside of the school and school district. And as the National Study recommended, appointing a department chairman for the leadership he can bring rather than for his length of service in the school can do much to vitalize the English program.

The impact of the British school syllabus on the attitudes of the classroom teacher raises profound questions about the time and energy directed to developing extensive, detailed curriculum guides for American schools. Although most American guides are clearly superior in the attention they give to both skill and content, they are seldom used by teachers. The brief statement of point of view, exemplified by the British syllabus, may offer a busy teacher the basic perspective on his work which he most needs. The staff time, energy, and funds devoted to the development of curriculum guides in American schools might better be released to support more significant activity.

A comparative study of the organization, administration, and supervision of English departments reveals strengths and weaknesses in both British and American schools. Leonard Dean said it well in his summary report:

> Incoherence leading to embarrassing and inadvertent repetition, lack of seeing a thing through, confusion in the minds of students, form given only by the O and A

level exams--this is the bad side. The good side is freedom for the teacher to use material that works for his students. The materials, especially the anthologies, are often good: done with taste and resourcefulness. And there is a fine absence of deadening workbooks and busywork.

CHAPTER V

THE TEACHING OF LITERATURE

> ...no one regards English for these students as a "discipline" or subject for study...
>
> Every class...was a kind of happening...
>
> At no time are the students given a conscious method of analysis or the language to talk about literature or language as a study of form. Everything is geared to feeling, not knowing.
>
> Everywhere, from every source I encountered, there came a genuine anti-intellectual cry for a negation of the cognitive dimensions of learning.
>
> Teachers were knowledgeable about literature and in the sixth form put their knowledge to good use. At lower levels, however, most seemed less interested in teaching than using literature.
>
> Intellect is out; feeling is in. Education is for citizenship and personal expression, not for learning facts or developing critical ability. Knowledge is almost considered detrimental to the aims of the school.

American observers, accustomed over the past decade to discipline-centered programs emphasizing the structure of literature, were ill prepared for the freedom and lack of sequential articulation in the teaching of literature throughout the United Kingdom. Few would deny that young people responded at times with an enthusiasm unlikely to be matched in many American schools. But few also would maintain that many of the programs stretched the intellectual powers of pupils or extended their sensitivity and awareness of literary genres beyond immediate interests. The duality of the observers' reactions is reflected in their classification of programs in literature as both a major strength and a major weakness in the schools visited (Chapter III). There were exceptions, of course, most notably in a few long-established schools where carefully organized courses in literature were only just beginning to erode under the impact of the new ideas. But for the most part, as this chapter will suggest, the teaching of literature was fragmented, uncritical, anti-literary, yet often explosive, engaging, and exciting.

Aims of Literary Study

To most British teachers, the value of literature in English classes lies in the insight which readers gain into human experience through their reading. "The aim of English study is to learn to live and feel without fear," said one gifted teacher at a school near London. To "live and feel" through literature means to respond to the ideas and emotions elicited at the moment, not to prepare for future goals. Literature is not studied as a form of art or as a document in human history; it is for the here and now, an exploration of the human condition, a way of strengthening awareness and sensitivity. Literary terms such as "connotation," "paradox," and "point of view" seem unknown even among advanced students; not a few were unknown to their teachers, who distinguish carefully between talk and literature and literature itself. *How* a poem means is a question seldom asked in these classrooms, rather the concern is with *what* a poem means--emotionally and intellectually--to the individual reader. Asked to rank objectives for teaching literature, 80 percent of the department heads specified "the pupil's development" as the primary goal. Such goals as the ability to comprehend the meaning and development of a work or an acquaintance with literary traditions are far less important. To a sizeable number of teachers the essential purpose of literature in the classroom was simply to evoke a kind of dynamism with which the teacher could then work in a response that reflected the pupil's inner self and his attachment to the real world.

American teachers also consider insight into human experience as the primary goal of literary study, but they attach significantly more importance than their British counterparts to helping young people comprehend the meaning of particular works. By learning to analyze a literary selection, by studying the modes and genres of literature, by attending to the formal characteristics of literature, they feel young people may better comprehend the experience that each work has to offer. The British do not reject outright the values of close textual study, although many pay scant attention to literary, as distinct from personal, values. The difference in British and American attitudes is mirrored in Table 13.

Table 13

Attitudes toward Textual Analysis
(n = 162 British, 1481 American)

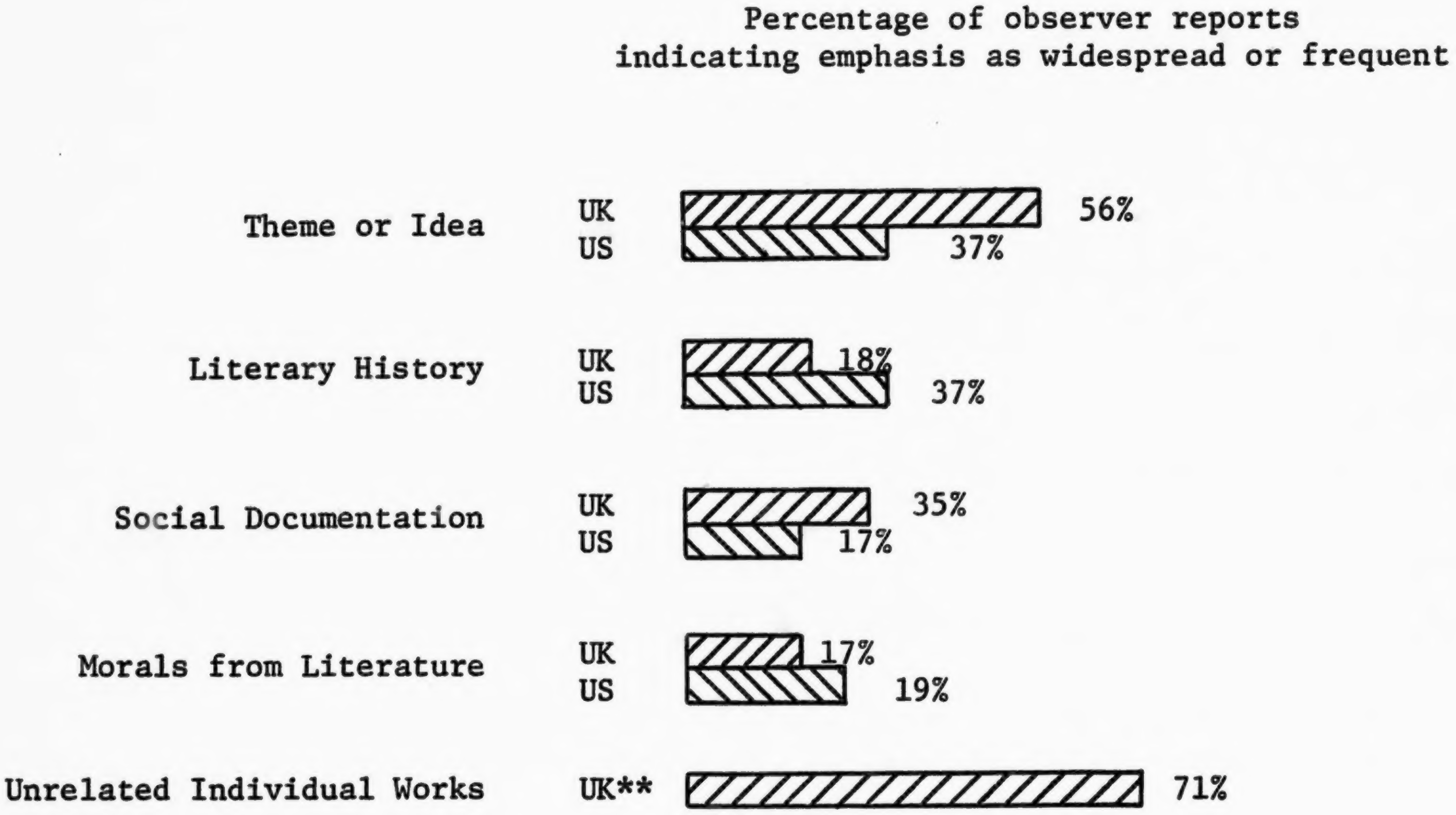
		Percent of Teachers:		
Statement		Agree	Disagree	Uncertain
A critical and comprehensive analysis of a poem will do more to destroy its beauty than it will to develop literary appreciation among students.	British	26.9	45.2	27.9
	American	20.1	61.1	18.8
It is necessary to teach some literature (primarily poems and short stories) through close textual analysis to help the student develop an appreication of good literature.	British	66.1	16.1	17.8
	American	83.5	8.7	7.8

Teachers in the two countries differ even more over the value of teaching literary history. Sixty-one percent of the American teachers interviewed supported some study of literary history; only 19 percent opposed such study. Yet almost 40 percent of the British teachers of English rejected any study of literary history whatsoever; only one-third thought such study was important. Surrounded by literary landmarks and continual allusions to the past, British teachers may feel far less need to direct conscious attention to the tradition. Indeed, it may be geographical distance which gives American teachers the sense of a "cultural heritage" as something fixed and inert, a body of literature to which young people must be introduced if they are to be truly educated. Not insignificantly, perhaps, the interviewers found most British teachers had no sense of American Literature as a separate literary tradition. Reminded of Mark Twain or Ernest Hemingway, they more frequently than not replied, "Of course we teach them, but we don't think of them as part of American Literature. They are part of literature itself."

With their greater concern for the ideas expressed in literature and their reduced emphasis on the formal characteristics of literary works, it is not surprising that British programs were found by observers to emphasize thematic or idea-centered teaching more frequently than those visited in the United States (Figure 3). British teachers, even more than American, concentrate on individual selections, addressing themselves to values and ideas, not to formal or literary qualities. They largely ignore historical and cultural associations and aggressively disavow the importance of transmitting a cultural heritage. When American observers questioned this rejection of the past, a university Lecturer

FIGURE 3

EMPHASES IN LITERATURE PROGRAMS*



*For complete data, see Appendix A

**Comparable data not included in National Study quickly responded: "You don't seem to trust literature, or to be content with the fact that literature is working; you want to put it on a pedestal and engage in a public act of adoration."

Organization of the Program in Literature

The most frequently taught authors in British secondary schools today are Shakespeare and D. H. Lawrence. On that fact all American observers agreed. An attempt is made to include poetry, drama, and the novel in the work of each term, but as one observer reported, "The literature read in the upper years is taught in no visible sequence." Some Chaucer, a bit of Wordsworth, Mark Twain, and a host of moderns of varying reputation make up the staple literary diet. Some observers complained (unjustly in the light of the work of sixth form classes) that they found "little attention to the study of literature in depth, except for Shakespeare."

But literature occupies a different place in the programs of British secondary schools. Far from the literature-centered program characteristic of this country, the British general English program uses literature as only one dimension of linguistic and imaginative experience. Thus, only 39 percent of class time in English is devoted to literature, in contrast to 52 percent in America. The difference is even more striking in the first four forms, the rough equivalent to our grades 7-10, where literature receives from 23 to 36 percent of class time.

Yet it would be unfair to accuse the British of deemphasizing literature. What they are developing is a new theory of communication related to personal and emotional experience. Influenced strongly by the work of Susanne Langer and the psychologists Piaget and Vygotsky, they are more concerned with the development of personal sensitivity to experience than with the teaching of any outside subject matter. Literature contributes to the stream of experience, but it remains only one of several dimensions.

In forms I-IV, the program is exceptionally free. Four or five "set" books, to be taught to the entire class, are usually provided, with teachers free to select other titles from an extensive list. Their choices, almost invariably well suited to the students involved, tend toward the contemporary. The "set" books are normally a volume or two of poems, one or two full-length plays, Shakespeare (at least in forms III and IV), and possibly a small anthology of prose pieces, poems, and stories grouped around a common theme. (A popular collection is the socially-oriented Reflections, compiled by John Dixon and others.) The five-pound anthologies so prevalent in American education are simply unknown in Britain. Their books are purposely thin, with few if any study questions and paraphenalia for homework; after three or four weeks of work, the class can turn to new materials. Such a continual introduction of fresh material certainly contains a motivational value lost in the American obsession with "covering" the literary content compressed into a 500-page two-column text.

Novels, seldom read in class, are assigned for home reading and then discussed. Plays, especially those by Shakespeare, are almost inevitably taught as drama, to be acted rather than studied as in an American classroom. During the course of the four years, a pupil of average ability may experience four or five Shakespearean plays and a number of modern dramas. Even slower classes attempt one or two. Poetry receives more attention than in many American classrooms, usually one day a week. The prevailing pattern is suggested by a directive from the syllabus of one of the more conservative schools: "The guiding principle in the choice of works studied as literature is that each pupil should be provided with at least two plays, two books of verse, and two prose works per year. While intimate appreciation and intelligent criticism are expected from the older boys, the ideal consistently in view is that literature is to be enjoyed and that the study of it is only a means to that end." Even so, the literary diet seems spare. One observer comments:

> Basically the emphasis in the first four years in all the schools is on the improvement of oral English and on creativity. ...Most of the selections read are from the twentieth century, preferably pieces written since 1950 or 1960; many are transitory pieces concerning a trip to Cincinnati or the emotions of a young boxer. Work tends to center on the characters and what happened to them, with a few comments on word meaning and an occasional remark about style. Only in the hands of a few very good teachers is one selection related to another.

One other unusual development noted in several schools is the tendency to regard the creative pieces written by children as literary documents for reading and study by the entire class. A few of the newer classroom books include such samples of children's writing, but more likely teachers use either the printed literary magazines (discussed in Chapter VI) or samples created in the classroom itself. This attitude toward children's writing seems related to the concern with introducing literary material to which pupils will quickly respond. It also reflects a British tendency to place a high premium on the artistic creations of young people.

Freedom from prescribed selections, coupled with intense concern for the reactions of students, leads teachers to select those books which have immediate impact. Interviews with teachers throughout the United Kingdom indicated that they feel complete or almost complete freedom to select literature to be taught to the first four forms. They are restricted only by the availability of books within the school and the titles "set" in the departmental syllabus. Careful consignment of a large number of established works to be covered in every grade, so characteristic of American curriculum planning, is seldom found in these schools. Nationally, except for concern with Shakespeare and Lawrence, there is little uniformity. "There is nothing in the English program," writes one observer "that anywhere nearly resembles the holding power of, say, *Silas Marner* or *Macbeth* in the United States. Given the 'free form' of the curriculum they have in the lower forms, and English teachers who are virtually immune from any outside authorities, the range of possibilities, including the possibility of sheer madness, is amazing."

Forms V and VI are another matter, but they concern only pupils studying for O and A level examinations in literature. At the time of our visit, about 20 percent of the students were advancing to O level classes beyond form IV, although a plan to raise the school-leaving age in 1970 will delay departure for many. Thus the program outlined above is *the* program in literature for three-quarters of the nation. For those who do continue, however, literature occupies from 63 to 67 percent of class time in the upper forms (Chapter III, Table 4). Literary study at the fifth and sixth form levels is a specialized study, designed to assist able readers pass examinations. It is centered around texts prescribed by the CSE and GCE examining boards, and it reflects a radically different conception of literary education than does the work of the lower forms.

The sharp break in continuity between forms IV and V disturbs both teachers and pupils. Few departments have succeeded in relating the stress on creativity, spontaneity, and individual response in the lower forms to the rigid requirements for examining "set books" in depth. Sixth formers frequently complain that the programs are restrictive, or, if they like such close study, complain that earlier work was haphazard. The majority of the teachers enjoy the freedom of the earlier years, complaining bitterly about the examinations.[30]

But the examinations in literature are not as restrictive as they may initially seem. The books to be examined are "set" by the examining boards--one year in advance for O level and CSE, two years in advance for the two-year sixth form course. Ample choices are offered to the school: a typical O level examination for form V includes a question on a Shakespearean play; a question on poetry, with a considerable range of selection; perhaps one question on a contemporary play; and two questions on novels, again usually including one from the twentieth century. The CSE examination is similar, but places even more stress on modern works. Kon Tiki, Animal Farm, Of Mice and Men, The African Queen were among the works listed on one examination. In every case the school could select the books it wished to study and, except for Shakespeare, it is possible to select largely contemporary fare.

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[30] See the discussion of these examinations in Chapter II.

Advanced level examinations are for pupils intending to specialize in literature at the University. Classes are small and selective; the study intensive. Pupils normally enroll in only three form VI classes for the two years, although those in a scientific curriculum receive some work in general studies, including literature, unrelated to any examination. The two-year program in literature is guided by an examination covering such selections as the following:[31]

I
(no choice)

Chaucer, The Pardoner's Tale
Shakespeare, A Winter's Tale
Shakespeare, Anthony and Cleopatra

II
(any four of the following)

Spenser, The Faerie Queene, Book I
Jonson, Volpone
Milton, Paradise Lost, Books I and II
Fielding, Tom Jones
Pope, Selections
Wordsworth, Selected Poems
Keats, Poems of 1820
Jane Austin, Mansfield Park
Browning, Selections
Hopkins, Selected Poems
Virginia Woolfe, To the Lighthouse
T. S. Eliot, Murder in the Cathedral

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[31] Scottish examinations are somewhat more general with fewer set books although a movement is underway to pattern examinations after England's. Scottish examinations resemble more the Advanced Placement examination in the United States. Scotland also tends to teach more literary history, although curiously little of its own.

III
(one of the following periods of literature)[32]

1579-1630
1625-1700
1770-1832
1832-1900
1900-1960

When it is considered that sixth formers are highly selected students, that the course lasts for two-years, occupies one-third of the student's time, and can be exceedingly intensive, the demands do not seem excessive. The choice of which texts and periods to study is made by the school, not the student. Except in a few of the more conservative institutions, decisions run toward the contemporary. For the examination listed, most schools would select, in addition to Shakespeare and Chaucer, the twentieth century, Woolfe, Eliot, possibly Hopkins, and one other author depending upon the inclination of the teacher and the availability of textbooks in the school.

In only a few sixth form classes was literary history a subject for serious study; in one, the teacher gave two one-hour lectures on the history of English literature, then conveniently turned to individual texts. Some teachers spend weeks reading a text, more weeks "revising" the study (the British term for "reviewing"). Others, the most skillful, use the set books as points of departure for wide individual reading. In one class, for example, intensive study of The Rainbow led students into Sons and Lovers, Women in Love, Lawrence's poems, and essays, and even Lady Chatterly's Lover.

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[32] Selected texts are suggested for each period.

The examinations have other effects as well. Though the pattern remains the same, selections are changed each year to ensure a constant freshening of content. Seldom in Britain did observers find tired teachers rehearsing discussion notes they had prepared ten years before. By including modern writers, the examinations remind young people and old teachers that literature is still being written. Although most observers worried about the neglect of the past in many of the programs visited, they praised the sharp awareness of contemporary writing.

But healthy awareness of contemporary writing is something quite different from an almost exclusive concern. Schools differ in this respect, some trying conscientiously to introduce most major British writers during the sixth form courses. But more than half of the English faculties, when asked to comment on the need for balance between standard and modern literary selections, still felt they needed greater emphasis on current literature. Fewer than one-fourth of the department groups expressed concern about the neglect of established writers. A glance at the following frequently taught titles, many chosen from books set by examining boards, will suggest the current pattern:[33]

Form IV:

Animal Farm
Dandelion Days
The Old Man and the Sea
Huckleberry Finn
Billy Liar
Cidar with Rosie
Lord of the Flies
Great Expectations
Roots
Caucasian Chalk Circle
Hobson's Choice
A Man for All Seasons
Death of a Salesman
Twelve different Shakespearean plays

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[33] These titles are selected from the syllabi of all schools in the study.

Form V: Virtually all listed above plus:

To Kill a Mockingbird
Nun Priest's Tale and Pardoner's Tale
Pygmalion
She Stoops to Conquer
Good Companions
The Boy with a Bat
The Go-Between
Sons and Lovers
The Rainbow
Eight different Shakespearean plays

Form VI:
Grapes of Wrath
Sons and Lovers
Luther
Murder in the Cathedral
A Passage to India
Brave New World Revisited
A Portrait of an Artist as a Young Man
Juno and the Paycock
Under the Milkwood
Paradise Lost, Camus, Samson Agonistes (each reported only once)
Selected poetry anthologies
Six Shakespearean plays, plus other dramatic selections like A Knight of the Burning Pestle, The Alchemist, etc.

The list is typical, although different titles might appear in another year. The content of the literature program is that which is most teachable, that to which pupils will respond, although even the modern works chosen have some degree of literary merit. Even in the upper forms, the tendency to evade much written prior to the twentieth century is pronounced.

A word needs to be said about the school drama program, even though the teaching of drama is a subject for separate discussion in Chapter IX. The "school play" is an old public school tradition which, along with uniforms and school ties, has been successfully introduced into most modern and comprehensive schools. Unlike the sacharine adolescent comedies which too often find their way onto the stages of our secondary schools, the plays produced in British schools are selected to provide a genuine educational experience. Thus it is not unusual to find young people devoting their time to productions of the Wakefield Mystery Plays, Caucasian Chalk Circle, The Physicist, The Visit, Murder in the Cathedral, The Lark, or virtually any play in the Shakespearean canon. What is most important is the recognition that school drama is for the actors, not the audience; the result is the production of drama that is truly educational.

Another striking feature is the immunity of the schools from local censorship pressures. Masters are free to select and discuss the literary works that they wish young people to read. Lawrence, Steinbeck, Salinger, Brecht, Arden, Wesker, and Osborne are discussed with honesty and objectivity. One advanced class of boys quarrelled over whether Anthony represented more than "a pair of loins" to Cleopatra. Another related the use of the phallic symbol in literature to its employment in modern advertising. Only two of the headmasters had ever heard of parents interfering with the students' right to read, and should they have complaints, there is no doubt at all about their capacity for handling the situation. One observer pointed out, "In the situation as it now exists in England, the testing agencies can set for an external examination a book like Lord of the Flies which some American schools have trouble keeping even in the closed stacks of the school library."

Much of the enthusiasm for literature results because students are seldom challenged to extend themselves beyond their present interests. "We have reexamined the canon of English literature and determined what is most accessible to young people today," says one university teacher. But it is what seems (to many of the teachers) inaccessible that bothered most American observers. Do teachers of English have no responsibility to make accessible to young readers work they would not attempt on their own? Milton, Fielding, most of the eighteenth century, all of the Romantics except perhaps Wordsworth and Blake, all of the Victorians except a bit of Dickens and perhaps Emily Bronte--are they really inaccessible? Or have teachers really tried? To one observer, British teachers "are not really listening to children. They say their approach is inductive, but it is inductive only to their particular brand of culture, to an unlaminated culture, a culture shaken up to a new emulsion." Thus, the concern with the social revolution leads them to overemphasize modern social protest plays, like those by Wesker and Arden. Asked what he would teach that had been written before World War I, one youthful Cambridge honors graduate noted that "Anything written before World War I is middle class." Shakespeare is the great exception he postulated; he rises above class, conviction, and militant rejection of the past.

The forces that most influence the selection of literary works in today's British schools emanate from the criticism of F. R. Leavis, whose deep concern with literature, education, and society transformed a whole generation of Cambridge graduates into ardent educational reformers. The concern with values and ideas in individual texts, rooted in Leavis criticism, has led to a high assessment of Lawrence, Twain, and Hemingway; and to a lesser assessment of writers like Faulkner, Joyce, and James, highly praised by Americans because of their form. At its best the spirit is crusading, vital, and alive; at its worst, intolerant and neglectful of many literary values.

Classroom Method

Between the lower and upper forms, methods of teaching shift as sharply as does content. In only exceptional schools are attempts made to introduce any study of literature even by forms III or IV; nor is it common for the dynamic, integrated approaches of the lower years to extend into the later specialist courses.

The number of periods of English assigned each week for forms I-IV varies from school to school; generally pupils have five. A typical teacher devotes one hour each to poetry, drama, careful study of prose extracts (distinguished from "literary selections" which are seldom analyzed in this way), writing, and library browsing or personal reading. More often than not, each period is planned independently, rather than related to the next day's program. There is little homework outside of the individual reading program.

When asked about the importance of selected approaches to teaching literature, British teachers indicated overwhelmingly their support for stressing ideas in single works, for thematic approaches, and for guided individual reading. (See Table 14.) The programs for guided or home reading, exceptionally effective in some schools, will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. As far as the interest is concerned, it is not what the author says that concerns teachers in the lower forms, but how the students react. The department syllabus from one school

Table 14

Importance of Selected Approaches to the Teaching of Literature

(n = 143 teachers)

Approach to Literature	Percentage of Teachers Specifying Great Importance	Some Importance	Little Importance	No Importance
Guided Individual Reading	70.0	26.4	2.1	1.4
Ideas in Single Works	27.1	42.1	10.7	0.0
Thematic	46.4	42.0	7.9	3.6
Works Grouped by Author	26.6	55.4	14.4	3.6
Close Textual Study	29.7	33.3	24.6	12.3
Genre	8.6	50.4	28.1	12.9
Periods	7.9	43.2	33.8	15.1
Biographical	1.4	33.8	38.1	26.6
Chronological	3.6	26.4	30.7	39.3

suggests the nature of class discussions of literature:

> ...so much poetry, even at the simplest level, subsumes themes worthy of a wider treatment in class, it seems relevant to suggest that these themes be taken up and transformed in a situation or in language variety, and that the pupil's imaginative and linguistic resources be exploited to this end.
>
> ...the poetry book, by the variety, brevity, and frequency of its items is an especially fruitful source of "triggers" for personal and creative writing.

Teachers are not insensitive to the ideas in the selections, but too seldom do they press children to examine what is there. Rather than use the pupils' initial comments as an entré into a careful study of a selection, they permit such comment to lead away from the literary experience into what they feel will relate it to life. Some teachers believe that personal response is best expressed in this way, that the teacher should avoid directing the flow of student talk, and that false or misleading ideas will eventually weaken, with the group returning to something more basic. Only in few of the lower form classes observed did teachers consciously try to direct the flow of discussion.

Thematic teaching also means something other than the American concern to develop such concepts as Courage, Man's Inhumanity to Man, or Man's Relation to Nature over a period of several weeks. In Britain, emphasis on theme seems rather to suggest mere grouping of literary selections by topic. "Uses of the Sea" and "Weather" were two reported by American observers, not too favorably impressed with this approach to organizing literary study. "A Study of the Neighborhood," might involve reading several short selections on city life before students move outside to interview local personalities. One form III teacher wrote "Air, Sea, Fire, and Storm" on the chalkboard, then gave pupils a week to find poetry selections on whichever of the topics was of the greatest interest. Is this thematic teaching? Nowhere did observers find evidence of the long, carefully planned thematic unit in which one work is related to another as the class and teacher strive for deeper understanding of certain controlling concepts.

This lack of concern with the development of ideas is also reflected in the lesson planning in the lower forms. Seldom did teachers outline in advance the ideas they hoped pupils would explore in any given selection. Even more rarely did they formulate a sequence of questions to guide classroom discussion. Indeed, the care with which British teachers distinguish classroom "talk" from "discussion" is indicative of their attempts to prevent teacher domination from inhibiting the personal reactions of pupils. That the teacher, as the most experienced member of the class discussion group, might point up significant details leading to new insight did not matter. On one such series of discussions an observer commented tartly: "Students had better intellectual responses than their teacher, asked more intellectual questions than the teacher gave intellectual responses."

It is this absence of concern with the cognitive that continually troubled American observers. Brilliant in creating a situation for informal talk and affective response, the teachers are willing to accept comments as they come, one as good as another. At its worst the classroom talk on literature is aimless and unhurried; no classroom setting is necessary to stimulate such talk. At its best it leads to widespread participation, genuine interest on the part of many, and occasional moments of exciting repartee.

Nor are teachers particularly interested in closure. The tendency of an able American teacher is to move toward summary or conclusion, to build toward a concept or generalization with which young people can tie together the various ramifications of discussion. British teachers tend rather to rely on the excitement generated along the way. It is the process of involvement, not the ultimate insight or conclusion, that truly interests them. Lacking this conviction of the importance of process, some American observers saw such classroom talk as "little more than directed play."

But if many British teachers lack the skill of Americans in planning and conducting tightly organized discussion, they are more inventive in structuring the learning situation. A Chaplin film, for example, was used with its stereotyped conception of human comedy to introduce Sheridan's "A School for Scandal." In another class, a Joan Baez recording of "The Long Black Veil" was the basis of an introduction to poetic expression. A more detailed description provided by one observer indicates another kind of creative approach:

> I observed a group of over a hundred pupils; first, listening to a story told them with a symphony recording accompaniment; then, in groups of three, pantomiming the story as they listened, this time only to music. The room in which they assembled looked like a massive frug, with each child acting out his role as he half-imagined, half heard it. Such stretching exercises encourage the easy

> interrelating of imagination, experience, and language. Wording is empty, they feel, without an imagined experience at its source, and the imagined experience is empty in another sense without the worded life to support and fulfill it.

The flow from literature to words to music to physical activity is not uncommon in these classes. What is taught is not a "field to be covered" nor a "subject matter" carefully sequenced and allocated to certain levels, but an inseparable combination of literature, speech, language, composition, and human response. When they saw such teaching at its best, observers were often excited: "They teach as if learning were a dance of many rhythms in non-measured space, compass-pointed, in the case of English, by polarities of imagination, experience, language, humanistic man. The wordings and metaphor for their ways are still in the making. Whenever they are made, they will be spirit-strengthening in the same way poetry is. Watching them is in some ways like watching the Romantic poets come again to redeem England."

But not all classroom happenings achieve this remarkable synthesis. Limited by short periods and lack of concern with long-range development, teaching tends to be fragmentary. Long works, other than plays, are seldom studied in class; most hours are devoted to reading and talk about poems or an occasional story. Even drama is studied, in most schools, only once or twice each week.

Aside from emphasis on emotional rather than intellectual response to literature, British teachers depart most from American practice in stress on oral approaches. Informal classroom talk is one dimension; the dramatizing of plays, another. Poems, too, are treated orally, and teachers yearn for tape recorders to provide further stimulus for student readers. Memorization and choral reading continue through form IV, together with considerable reading aloud by the teacher. Indeed, British teachers read extremely well, far more dramatically than most Americans. Shakespearean plays that cannot be read by slower students are not infrequently read to them, though the passivity of some students during these sessions was noted by some observers. Perhaps the diffident reaction of students here was made more obvious by the involvement apparent elsewhere. At any rate, it is clear that to the teachers of England, literature was written to be heard.

In the upper forms, in depth textual study of specific works, mandated by the examinations, transforms classes into something far closer to the American standard. Modern critical methods are used in many schools, together with related secondary sources and critical works. Copious notes, lectures, analytical discussions (though here as elsewhere tending to deal with ideas rather than form)--these are the order of business. In some classes as much as three or four months may be spent on *A Passage to India* or a play like *Romeo and Juliet*. Wiser, more experienced teachers have learned, however, to use such set books as a springboard for independent reading and study. At this level, pupils often have unassigned periods for study, and in some schools the sixth form has a special library of its own. The students are serious, they are treated as near-adults, and they are not hesitant to grapple with intellectual problems. Perhaps because of the earlier emphasis on responding, they also speak and write with little hesitation. Some admit missing the undisciplined activity of the lower forms, but the enthusiasm for literature engendered by the freer approaches remains. These are specialist English pupils and they are ready for more critical endeavor. And in a few classrooms observers reported able teachers expert at drawing out facts as well as feelings in discussing particular literary works.

Not all fifth and sixth form classes meet this standard, however. Excessive lecturing in classes of twelve and fourteen pupils was criticized by observers. Slow pacing, tiring discussion of insignificant details, and excessive reviewing sometimes convinced Americans that the advanced form studies in depth often passed the point of justifiable returns. And observers still found some teachers who shied away from treating historical fact even when such study seemed justified:

> I had the feeling that the British teachers whose classes I observed overlooked opportunities to engage students by catering to their curiosity and their appetite for *sheer lore*. I witnessed one embarrassing class in which the teacher was trying to sell Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year* to a group of fifth-formers who were in open revolt (even though I was sitting in the back as a distinguished visitor). They claimed the book was boring, and he claimed it was good for them. I thought he might have made the text a good deal more interesting simply by surrounding it with intriguing information. But apparently this was not be a class in literary history.

The lack of concern with information and the absence of advance planning may reflect in part the heavy workloads of many British teachers. Most meet classes for at least 35 out of the 40 weekly periods; some see in excess of 200 pupils. With such loads, there is simply not much time to plan.

Individual Reading

British teachers of English believe strongly in the value of guided individual reading as part of the program in literature. Eighty percent of all British teachers endorsed the statement, "Students must be given freedom to select literary works, even if such freedom means they occasionally choose inferior works at certain stages of their development." Only 7.9 percent disagreed. In comparison, only 61 percent of American teachers agreed and almost 26 percent objected.[34]

Virtually all school programs provide for some extensive reading. Except for set books in forms V and VI, most novels are read at home and receive no intensive study in class. Young people are given books and expected to read them over a two-or three-week period. As many as six books a term may be assigned in this way, although more frequently the student is permitted considerable choice in selecting books for out-of-class reading. In one case, a sixth form class for science students, young people were presented with a stack of twelve titles (*Hard Times* and *Middlemarch* included) at the beginning of the year and were told to read them by the end of the year. Practice varies, each department setting its own standard depending upon the kind of students enrolled. Observers reported annual requirements ranging from six to 24 books.

Reading lists are used by about one-third of the schools to provide guidance for this extensive reading. In some schools, classroom book collections maintained by the department chairman are used as the source of selection. The practice of requiring one weekly period of free reading, sometimes in the library but more often in the classroom, is followed in one-fifth of the schools, but department chairmen, like their American counterparts, report that the recommendation is not always heeded by teachers.

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[34] See Appendix A: "Attitudes of Teachers Toward Selected Issues in the Teaching of English."

A few other practices were frequent: cumulative reading records, informal talk about books read, reading related to "set" books at advanced levels, display of reviews of the "best" books. The variety is about what one would find in American schools, but the difference is in degree of commitment. No British teacher of English maintained, as do many Americans, that the program in literature was the program he taught.

A special questionnaire on personal reading was distributed by teachers to 4,301 pupils in English, Welsh, and Scottish schools. The questions were identical to those previously asked of 16,089 American pupils in the National Study, although the composition of the groups varied slightly. The British sample included pupils in forms I-VI, whereas the American was limited to grades 9-12. Some 1,649 girls and 2,652 boys responded to the British questionnaire. Of these, 2,602 pupils hoped to proceed to higher education; 1,699 did not or were undecided. Respondents in various forms were as follows: I, 329; II, 382; III, 573; IV, 1,313; V, 973; VI, 731.

Pupils were asked to indicate the amount of time, on the average, that they spent reading outside of school. When their responses are compared with those of American pupils (Table 15), the differences confirm what was suspected by the observation team: American and British

Table 15

Time Reported Spent Reading Outside of School by British and American Pupils

		Percent of Students Indicating:					
Type of Reading		Less than 1 Hour a Week	1-2 Hours a Week	3-5 Hours a Week	6-10 Hours a Week	More than 10 Hours a Week	No Respon
Assigned Reading (Outside of school)	British (n=4,301)	18.0	31.0	32.0	12.2	4.7	2.1
	American (n=13,291)	5.7	16.5	43.0	25.9	7.4	1.5
Reading (Unassigned Personal Reading)	British (n=4,301)	10.3	25.2	36.6	20.2	6.6	0.8
	American (n=13,291)	20.6	29.8	31.8	11.5	4.8	1.5

youngsters spend about the same amount of time reading outside of school, but a preponderance of American students spend this time on required study. Whereas almost 50 percent of the British report spending two or fewer hours weekly on assignments, 78 percent of all Americans spend three hours or more. More than a third report this total rises above six hours weekly, compared to 19 percent of the British. British pupils thus have more time for reading selections of their own choosing: nearly 28 percent devote six or more hours weekly to independent reading, compared with 17.8 percent in America. The comparison shows not that children in one country tend to be more predisposed to reading; rather it reveals that school assignments can control the kind, if not the quantity, of reading. American teachers are less willing to offer students the freedom to explore books on their own.

Other data substantiate the similarities in the reading habits of the two nations. Table 16 indicates the number of sources of books which young people reported borrowing during the month prior to the survey. The 16,089 Americans had borrowed a remarkable average of 7.9 titles; the British reported an average of 8.0. Students in both countries prefer public libraries to school libraries, rely heavily on paperbacks, and obtain titles from friends. Largely because of the home reading programs, British pupils also obtain books from their teachers, a practice that might be more widely emulated in America if teachers were provided with classroom book collections.

Not only in amount of reading, but in reading interests the students of Britain and the United States are very similar. Table 17 compares the rank order of reading preferences of British and American students.

Table 16

Sources of Books Borrowed in the Previous Month as Reported by British and American Pupils

(n = 4,301 British) (n = 16,089 American)

Source	Number of Books Borrowed		Percentage of Students Using Each Source		Average Number of Books per Student	
	British	American	British	American	British	American
Public Library	10,549	43,142	57.9	58.5	4.2	4.6
School Library	6,159	26,420	51.5	59.6	2.8	2.8
Paperback Books	5,581	24,634	55.1	59.5	2.3	2.6
Home Library	5,458	18,843	49.9	48.3	2.5	2.4
Friends	3,906	11,590	46,0	43.2	2.0	1.7
Book Clubs	193	3,000	2.7	7.8	1.8	2.8
Teacher	1,678	No data	23.3	No data	1.7	No data
Other	728	2,666	6.8	5.2	2.5	3.2
TOTAL	34,252	127,629			8.0	7.9

Table 17

Rank Order of Reading Preferences of British and American Students
(n = 4,301 British and 16,089 American students)

	All		Boys		Girls		Form IV Grade 10		Form V Grade 11		Form VI Grade 12		College-Bound		Terminal	
	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US
Detective, Mystery	2	1	3	5	2	4	1	2	2.5	4	3	5	2	4	1	3
Adventure	3	2	2	1	5	5	3	3	4	2	4	2	3	2	4	4
Romance	5	3	11	12	1	2	5	5	5	5	11	4	7	5	3	2
Humorous	1	4	1	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Science Fiction	4	5	4	3	4	8	4	6	2.5	6	2	8	4	7	5	6
Sports	8	6	5	4	10	12	8	8	8	8	12	11	10	9	6	7
Poetry	12	7	12	11	9	7	12	12	12	11	9	10	12	11	12	10
Biography	9	8	9	7	8	3	10	4	9	3	7	3	8	3	9	5
History	6	9	8	6	6	6	6	7	6	7	5	6	5	6	8	8
Current Problems	11	10	10	9	11	9	11	10	11	9	8	7	11	8	10	11
Science	10	11	7	8	12	11	9	11	10	12	10	12	9	12	11	12
Other	7	12	6	10	7	10	7	9	7	10	6	9	6	10	7	9

With the exception of the miscellaneous category, which may reflect differences in classifying titles in the two countries, the overall ranks differ substantially only twice: Unaccountably, British students express somewhat greater interest in historical books; American students, in poetry. Even so, the differences are not marked and they may be a result of somewhat unequal samples. In only nine of the 88 separate comparisons do differences of more than two rankings separate the two groups, and four of these involve the British sixth form, more selective and more dominated by men than any American twelfth grade. It is surprising to find somewhat consistently higher rankings for biography and poetry among American pupils; biography as such is not widely taught in the British schools, poetry may be overtaught (one hour per week) even with the strong emphasis on sentient experience. But the differences are not greater.[35]

But if basic interests are similar, some differences are apparent in the specific titles pupils prefer. Surprisingly, when pupils during special interviews were asked to select the book read in or out of class that had had the greatest influence on them, advanced students in both countries identified Lord of the Flies as their most significant reading experience. (See Table 18.) Beyond this agreement, the lists differed considerably. The responses from Britain ranged even more widely than those obtained from pupils in America: the 447 pupils responding named more than 150 separate books. American tastes understandably reflect

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[35] See Appendix A for complete data on British students' reading preferences.

Table 18

Books Reported to be Personally Significant

Advanced Specialist Students (n = 303)			Advanced Twelfth Grade Students	
Rank Order	Title	Number	Rank	Title
1	Lord of the Flies	20	1	Lord of the Flies
2	The Grapes of Wrath	8	2	Catcher in the Rye
3	Brave New World	6	3	To Kill A Mockingbird
4.5	Sons and Lovers	5	4	1984
4.5	The Bible	5	5	The Bible
7.5	1984	4	6	Crime and Punishment
7.5	King Lear	4	7	Gone with the Wind
7.5	A Portrait of an Artist	4	8	The Robe
7.5	War and Peace	4	9	Black Like Me
10.5	Catch 22	3	10	Cry, the Beloved Country
10.5	Animal Farm	3	11	Of Human Bondage

Non-specialist Form IV Pupils (n = 144)			Terminal Tenth Grade Students	
Rank	Title	Number	Rank	Title
1	Lord of the Flies	6	1	Gone with the Wind
3.5	Sons and Lovers	4	2	The Pearl
3.5	The Pearl	4	3	A Tale of Two Cities
3.5	Small Women	4	4	To Kill A Mockingbird
3.5	Of Mice and Men	4	5	Call of the Wild

titles dealing with social issues paramount in this country: *To Kill A Mockingbird*, *Black Like Me*, *Cry, the Beloved Country*. British students find good contemporary fiction more available; seven of the top eleven titles mentioned by advanced students would not be found in many American public school libraries, except perhaps in carefully controlled stacks.

When asked to specify the authors read in or out of class who had had the greatest influence on them, British pupils, not surprisingly, mentioned D. H. Lawrence (25) and Shakespeare (15), followed by Graham Green (12), George Orwell (10), Thomas Hardy (7), T. S. Eliot (7), Ernest Hemingway (6), Ian Fleming (5), William Golding (5), Howard Spring (5), John Steinbeck (5), and a host of largely contemporary writers. The impact of teacher attitudes could not be more clear. Curiously, Lawrence was mentioned by no pupil in Scotland and Shakespeare was mentioned only once; the Leavis tradition is only just permeating the Lowlands. Graham Green is big in Scotland and also, apparently, Ian Fleming. No English youngster mentioned the creator of the James Bond myth.

Asked to suggest titles which should be added to the required English program, advanced twelfth grade students in America nominated forbidden fruit: *Lord of the Flies*, *1984*, *The Catcher in the Rye*, *To Kill A Mockingbird*, and *The Bible*. British students concurred on *1984* and *Lord of the Flies*, adding in addition *The Grapes of Wrath* (the most frequent suggestion), *The L-Shaped Room*, *Sons and Lovers*, and *Brave New World*. Their choices were more diversified than those of the Americans, largely because such a variety of titles is already taught or assigned for home reading in many British schools. Of all the titles mentioned in this discussion or listed in Table 18, only *The L-Shaped Room*, *Catch 22* and *The Bible* were not reported to be assigned somewhere, and most have been set at one time or another by the examination boards. The curious hold that Lawrence has on British sensibilities may be related to his cultural background in the working class area near Manchester. No American student mentioned a Lawrence book as being particularly significant (nor did a British mention a Faulkner). One cannot attribute the indifference of American young people to Lawrence to the restrictive policies of their elders; the peer group culture in this country has had no problem maintaining an interest in Salinger. If *Sons and Lovers* spoke to American teenagers, it almost certainly would be found and read.

School Libraries

An important adjunct to the teaching of literature is a strong school library, accessible to pupils and containing a wide variety of reading. Observers of American schools in the National Study were strongly critical of school libraries. They noted the inadequacy of many collections, the inaccessibility of the library during out-of-class hours, the purification of holdings as a result of local censorship pressures, and the rejction of school libraries as sources for personal reading for students.

All of these criticisms, save those dealing with censorship, may be leveled against the British school libraries. In addition, observers were surprised to find only ten full time librarians, few with professional training, in the 42 British schools. Slightly less than half of the schools have a part time librarian, usually a teacher given an extra few periods per week. In one-third of the schools no one is directly responsible.

Some institutions rely on voluntary committees of students, reported to be better workers than ill-trained clerks from the community. Some exceptional English department chairmen devote long after-school hours without compensation to building the book collection. Awareness of a need for professional supervision is most noticeable in the large, new comprehensive schools enrolling 1,000 or more pupils. In smaller schools the demand is less apparent, and financing almost impossible.

With uncertain staffing, collections are bound to vary, though accurate data was difficult to obtain. Some of the established public and grammar schools have excellent collections, and a few of the new comprehensive schools are building commendable centers. Yet many of the huge, time-honored collections are inappropriate for school use today. A superb collection on classical Greece and Rome in a school once strong in these studies has not been used for years; impressive leather-bound eighteenth and nineteenth century literature lies untouched in another. Some boarding schools take particular pains to surround their pupils with books, but others feel the library is comparatively unimportant in a secondary school program. The most effective library seen in a state-supported school was run by a full time professional librarian who had spent a year in Indianapolis. American teachers have reason to be grateful for their professional library associations.

Book collections are usually divided into separate lower and upper form libraries. In some institutions, special sixth form libraries and study rooms have also been created. (The sense of freedom, ownership, and enthusiasm for these special collections displayed by the students made Americans wonder if similar practice would not be effective with advanced placement pupils in the United States.) Classes are free to use the libraries during the day, often on a regular schedule; and most libraries are open before and after school or during the noon hour. Except where full time librarians available, however, libraries are likely to be locked during the majority of school hours and are thus not open to individual pupils. Space is so limited that it is not uncommon to find noon browsing restricted to pupils in forms V and VI. Indeed, the inadequate budgets under which libraries are financed result in gross discrimination against pupils in the lower forms. Books for forms V and VI are usually purchased first; others, as the budget allows. In some cases the library and book funds allocated for English would be used entirely for purchasing books set for the upper forms, leaving the lower forms inappropriate titles used in other years in the upper grades.

The uneven condition of school libraries is due to the economics of state-supported education in Britain. Of every £10,000 ($28,000) spent nationally on education, only £7 ($19.60) is used to purchase books.[36] The school lunch program underwritten by the state costs twelve and a half times as much as all the books bought at all levels of learning. General funds to support education are given to each local authority, which then determines how and where available amounts are to be spent. Some local authorities do place a high premium on books: the West Riding Council, for example, gives a basic grant (£128), plus a certain amount per pupil of 15 years (4s/2d), and another amount per pupil of 16 years or older (10s/2d). In a school with about 750 pupils, English department heads normally receive from £200 to £350 (around $700) to purchase books for classes and library, as well as paper and other supplies. A staff member serving as librarian may receive an additional £150 ($420) for general reference works and books on current social or political issues. Given the economic circumstances and the lack of professional attention, it is a wonder that most school libraries survive at all.

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[36] Quoted from a report in The Times (London), June 15, 1967. All conversions from pounds to dollars are based on rates in effect at the time of the study.

The public library system, however, is excellent. A public library is available in almost every community, no matter how isolated, and the school department of the library generously assists local schools. Not infrequently observers found public libraries donating or loaning large quantities of their books for school use. One county library exchanges 350 titles each quarter to supplement school stock; another operates a joint library within the school building itself. Still another new comprehensive school began its collection with a donation of 5,000 books from the school department of the public library.

With such conditions in the United Kingdom, a student preference for public libraries is less surprising than in the United States. Table 19 indicates the comparative use of school and public libraries by children in Britain and America. The similarity in preference is obvious. Although the school library is used somewhat more frequently because of its accessibility, the pupils prefer the public library as a source of books for personal reading. When asked about this preference, most British students, like their counterparts in the United States, noted the strength of the public book collections. Whereas in America many of the titles that students most want to read are rigorously screened away as unacceptable

Table 19

Comparative Use of Public and School Libraries

		Percentage of Students Reporting Use During Previous Month:					
	Library	Not At All	1-2 times	3-5 times	6-10 times	More than 10 times	No Response
British Students (n = 15,875)	School	26.5	23.0	22.6	10.5	16.2	1.2
	Public	33.3	27.3	25.1	8.5	4.8	1.0
American Students	School	16.0	24.0	27.8	13.7	17.2	1.3
	Public	23.3	24.7	27.2	13.6	8.3	2.9

school reading, in Britain the problem is largely one of economic support. The collection may be haphazard, but it is not prudish.

Concern about the availability of periodicals in American school libraries led to study of similar resources in Britain. In the National Study, observers were concerned about the failure of libraries to make available those magazines and journals most eagerly sought by young people. Recognizing that some standards of propriety must always guide selection in the school, the investigators felt that popular periodicals like *Life*, *Post*, and *Look*, and specialist journals catering to adolescent interests (*Hi-Fi*, *Hot Rod*, *Sports*) belonged in a school library, if only to attract potential student readers.

The unexpected discovery in British libraries was that little attention is devoted to periodical literature at all. Whereas 23 separate periodicals are found in more than 50 percent of the American high schools, only six magazines appear in as large a proportion of British schools. The journal *Woman*, popular with adolescent girls, appears most frequently but is made available by only 55 percent of the schools. *Women's Own*, *Petticoat*, *Punch*, the *Reader's Digest*, and the *Times Sunday Supplement* are the only other periodicals attracting nearly as much agreement. Although the list of magazines available in the 42 schools is extensive, there is little national consensus about which titles should be available. Teachers of English do spend class time on magazines and newspapers,[37] but teaching concentrates on the analysis of advertising and of the arts of persuasion, not on reading and studying important articles dealing with current cultural and social affairs. No equivalent of Harper's or The Atlantic is used in British English classes.

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[37] More than 10 percent of class time in form IV is devoted to such study. See Chapter III.

Implications for American Schools

What can American teachers of literature learn from the British schools? Surely they can learn to have more confidence in their own pupils, the nature of their reading preferences and the amount of reading that they do. No evidence in this study points to any great difference in the quality or the nature of reading. Americans, too, can take pride in their school libraries and the important resources that they offer our programs in literature.

Not many Americans would wish to abandon all emphasis on literary history or the attention to literary structure and form that has become so well established in our classrooms. But we might ask whether this stress is appropriate at all levels and to such a great degree. Our British colleagues have shown that tapping effective responses of young people can yield rich dividends in enthusiasm and excitement and perhaps lead adolescents to a keener awareness of the place of emotion in literary response. A relaxation in the number of assigned selections and the number of outside exercises demanding literary analysis might well stimulate pupils to more reading on their own, an important goal if they are to continue reading after they leave our schools. Perhaps somewhat freer patterns of teaching literature, emphasizing personal response, would be appropriate in the junior high school, with intensive study of individual selections and the introduction of critical theory and literary history delayed until the upper years. The British program suggests this as a natural sequence. No evidence collected in this study suggests that the absence of attention to cognitive response affects the ultimate literary reactions of British youth.

Americans also might reexamine their priorities with respect to literary genres. Does so much class time need to be spent reading the novel? Do we do enough with drama if we teach only one or two plays each year? The British also introduce far more poetry, but it seems clear that their pupils do not respond more favorably as a result.

Americans can do more, too, with oral approaches to literature--with dramatizing, reading aloud, acting, and with relating literature to dance and movement and mime. Literature is to be heard as well as read, and of this we have been more than neglectful.

The economics of American book production and distribution may never fully free us from reliance on the great anthologies, but surely the British use of multiple sets of smaller, more attractive texts awakens greater pupil interest. Paperbacks and supplementary books can at least be used more widely in our schools, and we might ask whether in teaching literature--not literary history, not literary criticism, not vocabulary or reading skill--we really need to pay for those endless headnotes and footnotes and study questions that appear throughout our texts.

The freedom to read and discuss mature books is striking throughout British schools. Contemporary social pressures may prevent many American classes from approaching the unrestricted access to books and ideas so prevalent in that country. But it seems clear that American youth are reading many mature books on their own. Should not American teachers, like their British counterparts, offer them help in interpreting such literature?

CHAPTER VI

THE TEACHING OF WRITING

> In classroom after classroom, students were seen eagerly putting pen to paper.
>
> It is not the kind of neat program that can be summed up in a few hundred words or a book or a batch of mimeographed materials.
>
> Every writing experience was preceded by a reading and speaking experience. The children wrote eagerly when the assignments were creative, and they usually produced good results.
>
> Correctness is definitely not an obsession in these schools. Spelling and punctuation are sometimes marked, but by no means uniformly. Problems in sentence structure are seldom commented upon.
>
> Revision of student work seems to be virtually unknown in the school.

The most important discovery about the teaching of writing in British schools is that there is little of it--little, that is, in the American sense. Whereas for the last several years Americans have been concerned with developing sequential instruction in how to write--in teaching, for example, the rhetorical principles of unity, coherence, and emphasis--British teachers show no overt interest in any of these things. Rather they are concerned with imaginative and personal writing, classroom talk, and response to literature as closely interwoven experiences within the larger and more important pattern of the growing sensitivity of the individual. "Keep the flow going," says J. N. Britton of the

London Institute of Education, "and the rest will take care of itself."

The Focus of the Programs

Impressed by the excited reactions of pupils in many classrooms, American observers ranked programs in creative and imaginative writing fourth among the major overall strengths of these schools, second in effectiveness only to drama among the dimensions specific to the English program (Chapter III). In interviews, too, creative writing was cited most frequently by British teachers as a strength of their work. But the Americans were concerned also about the lack of attention to and instruction in the skills involved in written English. For all of their enthusiasm for the creative activities, observers still ranked the neglect of planned instruction in how to write seventh among major weaknesses of the English programs observed. (See Chapter III.)

Here as in many other aspects of secondary school English, British and American teachers view the subject differently. To the new generation of teachers in the United Kingdom, writing involves no body of skills or behavioral objectives to be isolated and taught in any definable sequence; still less does it involve a core of rhetorical principles to be studied and emulated by the students. "Writing is a way of building a personal world and giving an individual rather than a stereotyped shape to our day by day experience," states John Dixon of Breton Hall College of Education; it is the "process of making and fashioning of things to stand for the world we experience."[38] It is this expressive process that seems basic to English education, not the specific skills of written communication. The subject "composition" thus itself becomes the process or experience of writing, just as the subject "speech" has become classroom talking. And as the syllabus of Walworth Comprehensive School puts it: "Self expression and the study of literature are both part of the same experience--an experience, which we can label, rather inadequately 'Learning to Live.'" Thus it is not surprising that few teachers admit many distinctions between talking and responding and writing, or that observers ranked the British schools far higher on "coordination of language, literature, and composition" than schools visited in America or Scotland, where learning to write still seems to mean acquiring the skills of writing. (See Figure 2, Chapter III.)

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[38] Address to the National Council of Teachers of English, November 25, 1967.

This is not to say that British teachers are unconcerned with clarity and effectiveness in written expression, only that they believe power in writing is to be acquired slowly over the years, rather than from discrete lessons focussed on isolated sets of skills. They seem confident that if pupils are given the opportunity, they will find the way, as they mature, to express their growing perceptions. Technical errors in the writing of the lower forms are accepted because teachers set their sights on more basic, longer range goals in personal development. To them, direct instruction in how to write represents teacher interference with the basic developmental process. The focus of instruction (and the differing emphases in Scotland and England) is suggested by Table 20.

Table 20

Emphases in Teaching Composition Reported by Department Chairmen

Aspect of Composition Receiving Primary Emphasis	English Chairmen (n=35)	Scottish Chairmen (n=7)
Giving the pupil the opportunity to sound out his own ideas, to expand his horizons	15	1
Ideas, content, conclusions	5	0
Organizing ideas clearly, elaborating and illustrating with care	4	2
Elements of style	1	0
Originality in style, diction, expression	1	2
Clear thinking and logic	0	0
Correct grammar, mechanics, and sentence structure	0	0
No response	9	2

Given this stress on individual expression, it is not surprising that British teachers of English differ radically from their American colleagues in the significance which they attach to writing experiences stressing personal involvement. These differences are illustrated in their reactions to the selection of basic issues in teaching composition presented in Table 21.

Interestingly enough, there are few national differences in attitudes concerning the importance and frequency of work in composition. Only 10.1 percent of the British and 14.5 percent of the Americans feel that "the high school English teacher's most important responsibility is to

Table 21

Attitudes of Teachers toward Selected Kinds of Writing Experiences

(n=162 U.K., 1481 U.S. teachers)

		Percent of Teachers Indicating		
		Agreement	Disagreement	Uncertainty
Students learn more about writing if they write about their personal experiences rather than about literary subjects.	UK	79.6	4.8	15.6
	US	28.7	41.8	29.5
Students will become better writers if they are allowed frequent opportunities to express themselves imaginatively by writing stories and poems rather than if they are restricted to expository forms.	UK	95.8	2.1	2.1
	US	55.9	25.7	18.4
Practically all students in high school should occasionally be expected to write stories and poems.	UK	95.8	1.0	3.2
	US	54.6	29.9	15.5
English teachers should see to it that students write at least one term paper (or long research paper) before going to college.	UK	51.9	13.8	34.3
	US	71.7	13.2	15.1

teach composition"; more than 70 percent of both groups disagree. An overwhelming number of teachers in both countries (71.9 percent in Britain, 73.4 percent in America) agree that "Frequency of student writing is more important than less frequent, but longer and more comprehensive, writing assignments." In classroom visits, observers found British teachers emphasizing composition 13.3 percent of the time (Chapter III), whereas in America the comparable figure was 15.7 percent. Like American chairmen, the British department heads tend to overestimate the classroom time spent on student writing, guessing that below the sixth form slightly more than 20 percent of class time would be spent on writing. American chairmen had estimated one-third of class time.

British programs in the advanced forms differ radically from anything known in America. In the sixth form staff observers found only 6.1 percent of class time concerned primarily with writing; the chairmen had estimated 7.0 percent. By the time O level and the Use of English examinations are completed, specialist pupils in English no longer concern themselves directly with the processes of writing, rather using it in preparing for A level examinations in literature. And although these examinations inevitably involve several essays, it is the content or ideas, not the quality of the critical essay as essay, which concern both pupils and teacher.

Continuous Writing

Observers agreed that British pupils write more frequently than Americans; indeed in some schools they seem to be writing all the time. Department chairmen estimate that their teachers ask for an average of 1.2 pieces of writing each week below form V, 1.4 in form V, and 1.6 in form VI. Estimates are even higher in Scotland. Observers found that these assignments were usually two pages in length and likely to be longer rather than shorter. The short paragraph assignment, a staple of American teachers, occurred frequently in only 7 of 108 sets of student writing sampled. Thus even while generally agreeing with Americans on the importance of frequent writing experience, British teachers differ in practice as much as they do in point of view.[39]

Frequent writing experiences in the classrooms of the United Kingdom are stimulated in the lower forms by the use of writing notebooks issued by the school and maintained by the pupils. Observations, impressions, daily logs of experience, reactions to classroom experience, and rough notes of many kinds are recorded in these notebooks. Some pupils maintain only a single written record of their impressions; but in many classes two journals are maintained, one an impromptu record of impressions seldom shown to another person, the other a copied or revised version which is regularly read or at least reviewed by the classroom teacher. Some teachers ask pupils to maintain such a daily log of experiences as the following:

> Last Friday when I went home at four o'clock, I saw some English people had made a very good bonfire. After that I arrived home. I ate some chappatti and went to bed. (low achiever, 2nd form)

More frequently, the writing notebooks are used for recording impressions in class, as in the following lesson described by an observer:

> ...I watched a small group of these same children as...they listened quietly to music. Then as the record played again, this time more softly, they wrote the story of their music-accompanied imaginings. When they had finished writing, they read their stories to the class. All of the

---

[39] Another interesting contrast was the discovery that papers are almost never typewritten, partially because most are written in class, partially because typewriting is not a subject offered to most boys and girls in the schools visited.

> compositions, as read aloud by their authors, were coherent, imaginative, and highly individual. It was irrelevant to this kind of language teaching that some of the written transcriptions, which the teacher and I looked over after the class, were elliptical and phonetic in both spelling and grammar. This was a class of retarded children and they had just made a magnificent use of language to embody a sensitively imagined experience.

The pupils move easily from classroom talk to reading to writing and then to talk again. Papers prepared out of class (the American homework assignment) are seldom required below the fourth form. Even at this level only a very few teachers expect pupils to maintain the files of compositions that have become standard practice in many American schools. Writing is rather an activity related to the continuing exploration of experience, not an end to be pursued on its own. The writing notebooks serve such a purpose, permitting frequent writing without burdening the teacher with endless separate sets of papers. And even in these books the emphasis is on "continuous prose on subjects of direct interest to pupils and an experience within their own range," to quote from the syllabus of Northgate Grammar School for Boys. The stress on continuous writing in whatever prose or poetic form the pupils wish to use stands in contrast to the discontinuous exercises in outmoded composition books which, like their counterparts in the United States, demanded disciplined practice in paragraph development or sentence revision, not the free flow of ideas and emotions so highly regarded by these new British teachers. Where textbooks or composition books are available in these schools, they remain mostly on schoolroom shelves and are used only occasionally for special practice. Only a few English schools were exceptions--the very traditional which as yet are still reluctant to sever all ties with past tradition and the few schools in which English chairmen or masters have authored such books on their own. More reliance on textbook teaching of composition was observed in Scotland and Wales, but even in such situations teachers seemed critical of the approach. It was therefore no surprise to observers to discover that 63.1 percent of English teachers consider such books to be "of little use" or "detrimental" to teaching (see Appendix A, Table 43). Day by day experiences in continuous writing, not the artificial exercises of a prescribed textbook or even the major weekly theme common in American schools are the heart of the writing programs in these English schools.

Stimulating Creative Response

Given the concern with individual responsiveness in writing and the lack of interest in formal characteristics, it is not surprising that the teachers in these schools devote much energy and imagination to establishing situations for writing. Informal discussion emanating from the reading of a literary work sometimes leads to writing, although 27 of the 42 departments denied that "practically all student writing should stem from literature." Most teachers felt that discussion of literature provides only limited opportunity for personal writing, that "experience itself is the source of self-expression." Fifth and sixth form study concentrates on literature, of course, but at lower levels teachers feel no obligation to relate writing to works read by pupils even less to a literary topic when they do use a selection to "trigger" written response.

Concern with the emotional engagement of pupils leads teachers instead to rely on various external stimuli to prompt a reaction. During the six weeks of visiting, observers found virtually any and all stimuli employed: literature, drama, photographs, paintings, radio broadcasts, newspaper articles, assembly presentations, motion pictures, films on scientific subjects, "realia" and gadgets of many kinds. Bubble-blowing pipes introduced descriptive writing; weatherbeaten fish boxes filled with seashells, rocks, barnacles, and pieces of life preservers wheted interest in "The Sea." The following recommendation is typical of the point of view of most syllabi, which often contain an extensive list of stimuli:

> It is perhaps a commonplace to make the point that skill in written English will best be achieved by writing English as frequently as possible and that by English in this context we recognize the range of language variety that we experience in our everyday affairs. Imaginative direction and constant practice in these registers are essential as a means to that clarity, fluency, and versatility which the teacher will require as the stamp of competence in written English. The stimuli for these varied writing situations will as a rule be furnished by the teacher either, in the ordinary way, through discussion, suggestion, or direction; by theme or project work; or by the importation into the classroom of extrinsic media such as pictures, gramophone records, newspaper articles, emotive objects and so on. But since the teacher in the long haul of the working week may not forever find himself richly fecund in ideas for composition, nor have, perhaps at short notice, the necessary facilities for the production of extrinsic stimuli, it is the purpose of this paper to suggest that school textbooks, for all their imperfections, may usefully be manipulated to this end, and that the poetry book, by the variety, brevity, and frequency of its items is an especially fruitful

> source of "triggers" for personal and creative writing. This is to distinguish between what goes on in the poetry lesson proper and this quite functional use of the poetry book as a tool for supplying ideas for written work.
>
> (St. Pius' School)

In the hands of thoughtful teachers, external stimuli are only a necessary entré to the writing experience. In the hands of the less experienced and profound, it sometimes seemed an end in itself. American observers were alternately impressed by the imaginative resources of British teachers and dismayed over the superficiality of the stimulus-response approach. Surely, the repetitive use of certain stimuli in some schools undercuts telling classroom use. A boy describing soap bubbles for the third or fourth time is not likely to find his perceptiveness increased! Yet to the extent that they perceive something more than immediate reaction as the ultimate goal, teachers use such stimuli to prompt young people to unusual personal commitments in writing.

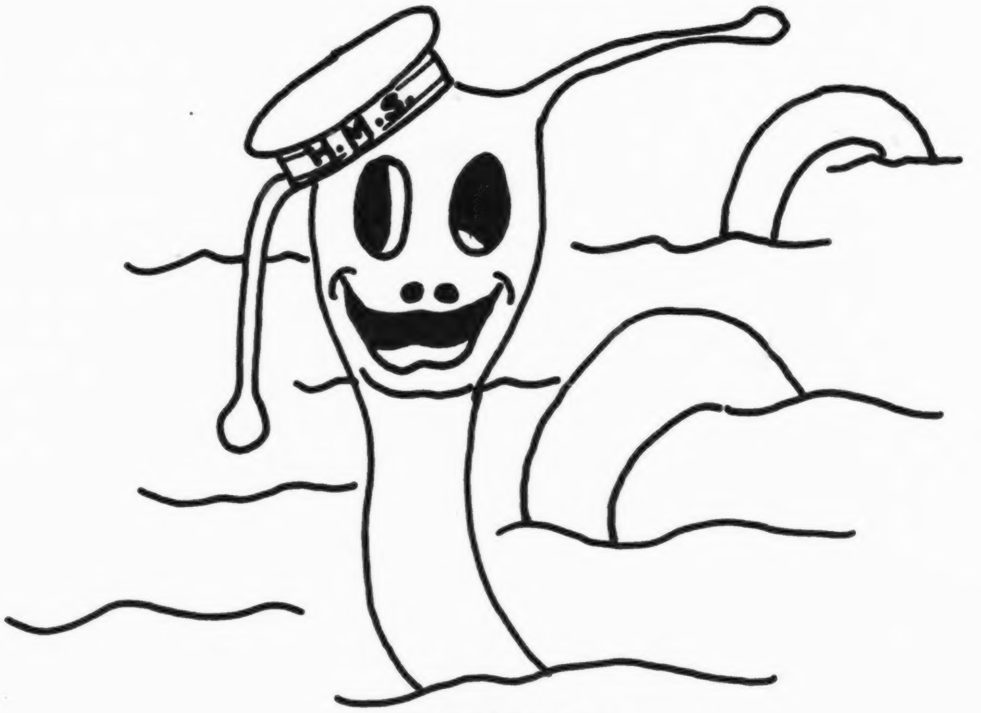
To take one example, on the morning following the Aberfan mining disaster in which the school children of an entire Welsh village were virtually wiped from the earth, boys at the Royal High School in Edinburgh were asked, sans discussion, to express their thoughts and feelings concerning the event. Their written reactions, some in verse, some in prose, were selected without revision by a student-faculty committee and published in a small pamphlet, the sale of which elicited £150 for disaster relief. The quality of their comments can only be suggested by one example:

TEARING, scrabbling scooping the black mud
  Ooze filling each space as it's made.
Black and black and black and black.
White, tight faces -- yellow diggers.
Light through smoke.
Weeping mothers hands in faces.
A little coat lies on the ground.
A silent prayer
"Let one living child be found!"
But there is no hope for these children
Buried under a mountain of mud --
A mountain that stood for a hundred years
But couldn't wait for the half-term bell.

(Michael Rose, 12-years-old)

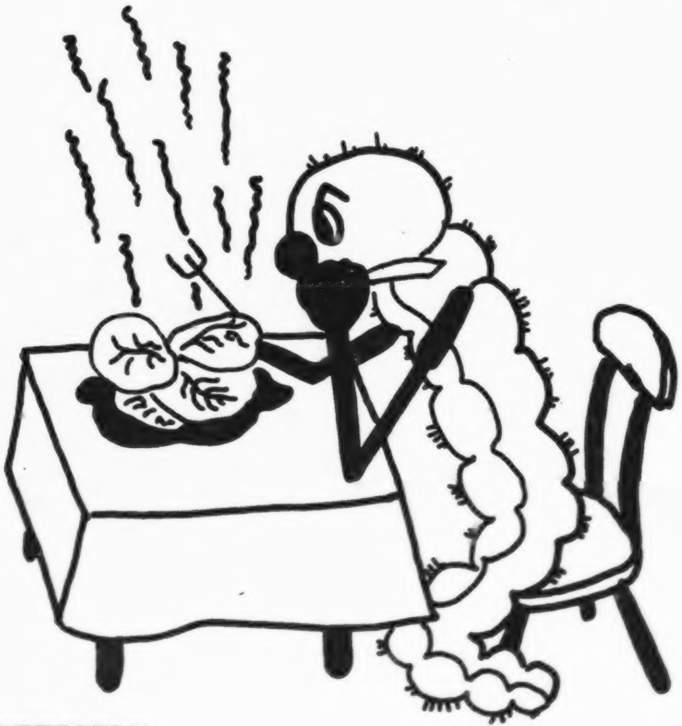
A gifted teacher of low achieving pupils at Templehall Secondary School in Kirkcaldy interested his pupils in writing animal poems in lowland dialect, thus sparking both excitement in verse writing and interest in local speech customs. The collection of verse, entitled "Templehall Bestiary," offers a refreshing reminder of what non-academic children can sometimes achieve:

From Templehall Bestiary



LOCH NESS MONSTER.

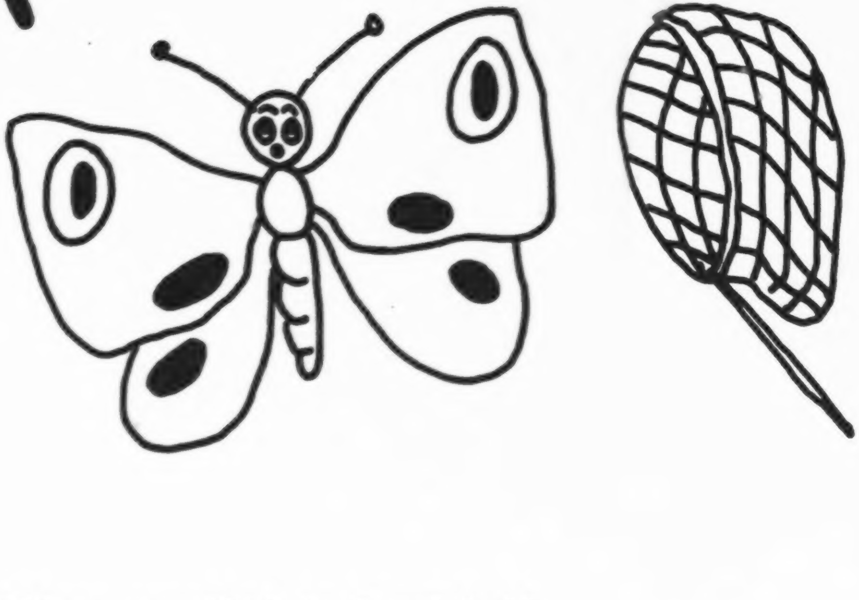
Bein' the Loch Ness
Monster
isnae that much
fun!
Eatin' droont
sailors
an posin'
fur picturs
is aw a iver
dae.



A CATERPILLAR.

If ah wis
a caterpillar
I'd hae fun
slidin' doon cabages
a' day long.
That's a' richt
but imagin'
A'd hae tae eat
  cabbage
  Ugh!

A BUTTERFLY.



Efter a while
A'd be a butterfly
Awfy different
frae a caterpillar.
Folk wid think that
a wis braw
A'd no even hae tae pae
ma bus-fare
No a care in the world.
But a'd hae tae watch
In case a got catched.

(Poems and illustrations by children enrolled in Templehall
Secondary School, Kirkcaldy, Scotland.)

Observers reported additional examples of imaginative work from almost every institution:

> The one unusual approach I observed was the teacher-librarian who had children write and illustrate books on insects or the history of Hatfield....
>
> They discussed the 8 mm film loop in class as a stimulator for composition. Such single concept loops (from a biology series) were used as a snake climbing a branch, a spider eating a wasp, vultures landing and flying. A loop is shown and discussed, then shown again. The pause-button is used to freeze a frame on the screen and vocabulary suitable for describing the shape, texture, and color is listed on the board. Finally, the pupils write...usually quite freely.
>
> The teacher reported asking students to write an "interior monologue" on the thoughts which occurred to them on a cross country run after viewing the film The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner.
>
> In the lower school story writing begins with stock situations and characters based on those found in children's "adventure" books--e.g., boy and girl capture gang of smugglers in four chapters; episodic stories about dogs or other pets. Such stories are built up from week to week, the teacher supplying plot and character incident and the children perceptions from their own observation. Children responded well and the school syllabus indicated, "Despite the 'stock nature' of the plots the work can have real value, for many who suffer from communicational constipation in the ordinary type of composition learn to write at length and with some ease in the firm framework of the stock plot."

Illustrations presented here are typical of day-to-day classroom activity in the lower forms. At the middle levels (fourth and fifth forms) a perceptible shift in emphasis occurs. Here, pupils more readily respond to ideational stimulation, and topics suggested by reading or current events are frequently used to motivate expression. Because of the free atmosphere for discussion in many British schools, the young people often write with feeling and conviction (and sometimes with unusual insight) about major issues in the world today, the honesty and expressiveness of their ideas frequently overcoming their limited control of forms:

The Lone Survivor

After the atom bomb, the only movement,
A piece of paper swept along in the radioactive breeze,
The people who made its life,
Dead,
The survivor of their knowledge floating,
Down a now empty main street,
The street that was once full of cars and buses,
Where once it would have been torn and crushed,
But now the lone survivor.

Susan Green, Senacre School

Napalm

Cloud-coming-down, American air-pilots
Tumble to risks. Trickle and rill
Are rivered again as, flying low,
Foresting propaganda, they pile
Revolt where ground-leaves are guerillas,
Branding the water-buffalo,
Unjungling tiger and elephant
With toss of napalm bombs that peel off
The shrieking skin of mother, infant,
While Bishop of Koutum appeals
For funds, through conscripts pray that soon
The big dropper, the dark one, the monsoon,
Will tent them. United Nations are mum
And Johnson lariats with the dollar.
Our Clergy, faceless as mummers
Of darkness, have dressed up a rag doll
That must be nourished on paper money,
On public smother of their late victims,
Saffron to soot of Buddhist monks
Still petrol-stained. See the brown face,
Those slanting lids, the thin eye-brows:
Ambiguous Madonna of Victories.

Austin Clarke, Royal High School

Survival

Sticking up, unsheltered, out of the coarse, short grass, the weeds hold their heads up, straight into the blinding heat of the sun shining overhead. These plants grow for miles on the narrow strip of wasteland alongside the motorway, unprotected from the smoke and the dust sent in all direction from the hurrying cars and lorries.

These weeds grow in clumps; sometimes one type creeps into a large clump of another kind, lifting itself up as high as the rest, accepted by them.

A larger variety of daisies open their star-like heads on the end of tough furry stalks. The petals stand out independently from a yellow button of pollen, their white colour shining brightly in the sun, but here and there streaked with fragile lines of dirty brown and orange. They cannot be blamed for this, they are only weeds; they are not tended, so are not perfect. Each is so far apart from the next petal at the very end, although touching each other at their growing points, that the outline of each petal is clearly defined. This makes this family of weeds the most striking and noticeable; it makes them look proud.

Near the daisies grow great masses of yellow flowers, their stalks twining around one another's, so that the stems are nearly hidden by the small spiky heads. None of the flower heads are individuals. They all merge together to form a splash of hard-hitting, unsubtle colour which forces the concentrating motorist to glance for an instant.

Creeping along the ground are fragile, feathery flowers with slender, long stems, stealthily trying to cover up every path of crumbling, sandy soil which reflects the sun with its earthy orange lumps, or, trying to overcome the sick green-yellow of the grass, sometimes cheerfully invading other families of flowers. Spotted among the other weeds are lone poppies which have sprung up from scattered seeds. Their heavy heads weigh down their stalks. But the petals are fragile and thin, and quiver at every breeze caused by fast cars. They still look cheerful, beaming at all their friends.

They continue growing, having survived after their neighbours were covered with grey stone and tar, peaceful and unhurried, despite the influence of mechanisation.

Judith Tennant, Keighley Girls' Grammar School

On occasion the poetry written by some of these young people also reflects control and discipline surely acquired less from the critical study of the genre (rarely seen in these schools) or from classroom exercises than from wide reading in poetry and years of free response. Two selections by sixth form students will suffice as examples:

Poem against Despair

With rain glistening on stone walls,
Or with a sea-gull's call,
With bracken brown on burnt hills,
Or with a magpie's shrill,
With the smell of summer hay,
Or on a sultry summer's day,
Or with an orange sun drowning in a lake,
Life still is primrose-like.

Gareth Jenkins, Sevenoaks School

The Accident

I stumble through the night
Like a man in a dream.
My ears are compasses,
Setting me on the right path.

But I lie. For it is
A tiny fragment of glass
And plastic, that bridges
The gap between two worlds.

My foot strikes something hard;
I fall, and the crash
Of broken glass
Breaks the magic link.

Thoughts whirl inside my head,
Like a caged animal.
I am alone in a cruel world,
With no-one to help me.

G. King-Smith, Marlborough College

Readers may have noted that the majority of the examples presented here were written by boys, a phenomenon untypical of American education but not unrepresentative of schools in the United Kingdom. In the creative environment developed in these classrooms, the writing of poetry by all students is normal and expected. To be sure, some boys find better outlets for their energy on the rugby or football fields, but a large majority of the sixth form English specialists are boys, and approximately one-third of them freely admit that they continue to write poetry on their own after classroom stimulation from the teacher has long ended. No doubt the emphasis on personal expression in all aspects of English contributes to this attitude. And the assumption underlying much of the classroom stress on drama, interpretation, and improvisation is that such activity leads inevitably to better reading and better writing. The proof of the pudding is that, at least in the schools visited, the approach seems to be working. Priscilla Tyler provided a perceptive analysis:

> Children and teachers read aloud frequently and well. Choral speaking of prose and poetry is common. The spoken melodies to be associated with a wide range of authors from Shakespeare down to the youngest member of the class are part of the knowledge-in-common of the class. When the pupils come to write their own compositions, they thus already have a stock of speech-tunes from which to draw and say (or half-sing) their words to as they write. This kind of activity illustrates how British teaching of writing in the classroom parallels contemporary poets' theories of how poets write. Louis Simpson, for example, once said that in writing a poem, he hears the rhythm of it first, then sets words to the cadence. Like Simpson, English teachers understand that writing is to be considered as part-melody, part-rhythm, and part-words and imaginatively devise ways of teaching this understanding.

One British teacher said the aim of the program in writing during the first four forms is to produce a novelist, during forms V and VI to produce a critic. Perhaps so. In the writing program, as in all elements of instruction, the break between lower and upper forms is sharp, and direct attention to creativity declines before the spectre of the rapidly approaching O level and A level examinations. But the personal expressiveness of the first four years still flowers from time to time, and despite their obligation to force attention to the facts and information needed for the examinations, teachers of English cannot easily resist opportunities to let their pupils' imaginations play. Here, for example, are four selections from sixth form students at Keighley Girls' Grammar School expressing initial reactions to a Shakespearean play which most Americans find difficult to teach in the secondary school:

Four Pieces Inspired by Reading the First Scene of "The Tempest"

Waves whipped her wet deck
And weaved past posts and pulled down
The sailors slipping on the slimy surface.
The booming cannons of the black army
Bombarded her from the clouds as she tried
To escape their silver swords of light
Which scarred the sombre sky. She
Rolled drunkenly between the tremendous towers
Trembling around her and was buried
Beneath the avalanche when they fell.
        Battling between the breakers
        She was guided home to rest
        By flickering lights of welcome
        Inside protecting harbour walls.

Joan Piplica

It was hideously beautiful.
I longed to run away yet stay
And watch.
Tormented by indecision I compromised,
Crouching in concrete pose; peering
Through the dribbling condensation that marred my vision.
And turned the world outside
Into a wet
Oil painting.

Staggering drunkenly
Above me a snarling finger of light
Clawed at the purple clouds, rent them
Apart
And sent them scudding across a strangely unscarred sky;
Whilst I
Waiting with both hands firmly pressed against my ears
To miss the volleying thunder which
Seemed to pierce
The very roof above my head and send the slates
Scurrying towards the caves.

Outside the rain-rinsed leaves
Eddied to the ground
Where swollen pseudostreams bore
Them swiftly down the street
Until a sudden, gaping, frothing drain
Swallowed them
Noisily.

Noiselessly I wiped the water-corrugated glass
Fracturing the lightning's lunar glare so that
It spread and streaked and starred,
And in the darkest distance
The lightning kicked and reared;
I heard the thunder mumble
As the dying storm glimmered,
Shimmered,
Disappeared.

Pamela Johnson

Bells ring, the atmosphere is now levitated
From the languor, stupor and somnolence of the lethargic lesson.
Frames of slothful souls
Are renovated pictures of quivering impatience.
The mistress hastens thankfully away,
Or dogmatically supervises the scramble to the door.
The small streams from various exits
Converge and aggregate into a tidal wave,
Whose current is checked by the congestion on the stairs.
Property falls on the floor, unheeded
By the intolerant and scrambling survivors.
Satchels scratch and bump one's boisterous companions.
Opponents fighting against this oppressive tide
Meet with groans and objections from the fermenting masses.
The torrent wanes and lessons;
Lone pursuers follow breathlessly in the wake of their companions
And the final ebb diminishes
To silence.

Elaine Green

The door clicked; he was home,
And I knew by his blatant avoidance--
He'd found out.
Clammy claws crawled over me
As I brooded in the cold, quiet, comfortless house
Waiting for it to happen.
Yes; it was the waiting that was unnerving,
Not my bitter guilt.
But the continual waiting and anticipation;

He appeared, and stared awhile
Standing erect, his lips thin and sharp as glass,
His eyes unfathomably dark and hateful.
Until his mouth twisted, and out they came
Pelting me like bullets from a gun
Fired without cease, pell mell,
The report resounding and re-echoing in my mind
Like the constant beating of drums
Blinding and obliterating my thoughts.
His eyes flashed and sparked in raging fury,
His contorted face rent in uncontrollable anger
Until he'd gone, leaving me alone.

The noisy emptiness reiterated my relief,
For the Winter was over,
And the Spring yet to come.

Judith Park

The Range of Writing Experience

The stress on personal expression in the lower forms and on the study of literature in the upper inevitably seems to restrict the range of composition activities in which British students engage. Still teachers attempt to present a balanced program and department heads urge attention to poetry, description, narration, script writing, and other forms. The terms vary from school to school because no uniform classification of the modes and varieties of writing is widely accepted, but the purpose remains the same. At Manchester Grammar School, for example, the syllabus instructs that "Care should be taken to include as many types of writing as possible, e.g., imaginative, factual, ratiocinative, narrative." In practice, however, teachers seemed less concerned with the form that writing may take than with the intellectual and emotional involvement of their pupils. In a general classification of 108 separate sets of student papers, staff members reported 23 sets dealing with literary subjects, 21 concerned with non-literary factual content which required some research, 33 dealing with personal experience, and 31 non-expository sets containing stories and poems. In range and emphasis these findings are supported by the classroom observations.

During the first four years, most pupils write narratives, descriptive passages, factual reports, plays, letters, scripts, poetry, and even personal essays, but seldom within any discernible pattern. Given the disposition of most teachers, an emphasis on personal, non-objective writing seems inevitable. Many feel that the teacher must encourage creative work as a corrective to the objective discipline which pupils will encounter as they write in other subjects, but even more seem not to discriminate, as do most Americans, between analytical and personal writing. When pressed, some British teachers deny that such a dichotomy exists. Far from accepting the view of many American college composition teachers that too great an emphasis on personal writing may restrict a student's capacity to control impersonal prose forms, the British feel that expressiveness and effectiveness in written composition can be achieved only through the cultivation of personal response. Thus the antecedents of effective analytical prose style--or of any other effective writing--are expressive experiences in conveying personal thought and image. Premature practice with expository forms leads only to barren, sterile expression. The stance is clearly described in one syllabus:

> As teachers we are conscious of two desparate elements in our children's written work: 1) writing to convey information (reports, letters, instructions, etc.); 2) "creative" or "personal" writing.
>
> We tend to emphasize formal conventions particularly in regard to (1), and vivid imagery and choice of words in regard to (2). While some distinction of this kind may be helpful to the teacher in planning his work so that various kinds of writing are covered in the term, it must be stressed that the same principles of good writing underlie both. If creative work is placed centrally in the syllabus, improvement in the more formal kinds of writing should follow too. The concept of "decorum," i.e., writing related appropriately to the context of the subject matter, reader and intention is central here.
>
> It follows then that we must begin with experience and the willingness--even the urgency--to communicate it. Sincerity and integrity are the fundamental qualities to encourage--writing which is "faked" to create an impression without the impress of a genuinely received experience behind it will nearly always betray itself linguistically.
>
> (Churchfields Comprehensive School)

In stressing creative experience during the lower forms, then, the teachers feel they are developing principles of writing and attitudes toward writing which will serve pupils in subsequent tasks. To be sure, some letter writing and factual writing is introduced, particularly in the less academic streams, but never to the neglect of creative response. Critical and analytical writing--particularly the criticism of literary selections--receives little emphasis until the fourth year and is often not introduced until the upper forms. Yet despite their late introduction to such writing, able pupils seem quickly to master the genre. Perhaps because of the concentration on literary study and the reading of many related essays, perhaps because of the continual attention to writing throughout the program, the written critiques are comparable to those written by similar twelfth grade pupils in America. Here, for example, is an essay on D. H. Lawrence:

> "Sons and Lovers" appears too much of a confession; it lacks a sense of objectivity. Consider Lawrence's characterization of Paul Morel in the light of this statement.

> The fact that in later life Lawrence wanted to re-write "Sons and Lovers" demonstrates that the book was a personal confession, for he gave as reasons a former unjust representation of his father, "a clean-cut and exuberant spirit, a true pagan," and the fact that he now blamed his mother for self-righteousness. How much of a confession it was is made uncertain by his wish to correct misrepresentations, on reflection, but even if the narrative is not a realistic construction of personal experiences we can see that the author himself thought of it as a confession by his very use of the words 'mother' and 'father,' not 'Mrs. Morel' or 'Morel.' The lack of objectivity is obvious from Lawrence's statement; it is easily deduced that at the time he saw character in such definite black and white that he overstressed the positions of Mr. and Mrs. Morel, and only when detached by time from the situation could objectively rectify his earlier subjective impressions.
>
> It was this consideration which led Bynner to wait thirty years before publicly recording his impressions of Lawrence as a companion in Old Mexico, and his work is valued the more because of this. But Murry felt that his subjective reminiscences had basically more objectivity because they had once involved a personal struggle with and comprehension of Lawrence's attitudes, whereas other critics had no basis of attack in their work. This could also be applied to Lawrence's own work, and we might decide that while his original writing of "Sons and Lovers" showed the only sort of objectivity which could express the truth, the detached objectivity of middle age would be more likely to distort it, so that it would be foolish

to ask for more objectivity. However, it is more likely that "Sons and Lovers" will be thought of as subjective than as objective, and naturally so as Lawrence wrote the book at twenty-seven, only a year after his mother's death, when the freshness of his suffering during the last decade was still with him.

Returning to the idea of the book as a confession we find that Murry compares "Sons and Lovers" with "The White Peacock." The latter to him appears an imaginative version of the former, where characters not based in fact lost their vigour while "Sons and Lovers" is 'the life of a man.' Lawrence himself said 'the first part of Sons and Lovers is all auto-biography.' He confirmed this when he was thirty five with a passage in "Fantasia of the Unconscious" which stated in generalized terms the effects of a mother-son relationship such as his; it is an exact parallel to "Sons and Lovers":

> "Think of the power which a mature woman thus infuses into her boy. He flares up like a flame in oxygen."
>
> and when Paul is ill:
>
> "She lifted him up, crying in a small voice: 'Oh, my son-my son!' That brought him to."

But when Lawrence wanted to re-write his book he made no mention of modifying Paul Morel's character. Perhaps this is because Paul's is the truest confession, the most subjective experience. Yet both Murry, as a close friend of Lawrence's, and Bynner felt that Paul lacked the most obvious characteristics of his prototype. These were his tenderness and his attractiveness. Bynner felt that there was a 'fabricated' Lawrence in his writings, one who typified the hating and frustrated element in his character without its gentleness. Murry later described the violence of his reaction to his undersexuality, his powerless resentment against the woman he could not dominate and his admiration of the purely masculine. These two elements mingle in Paul's character, and although they do not represent Lawrence in totality it is precisely this fact which proves the subjective bias of the characterization.

This then is the subjective basis of Paul's character. There is tenderness--his kindness to Susan who is leaving the factory, and his gentle reverence to his mother, especially in the early parts (but Lawrence said it was the 'first part' which was pure auto-biography), yet the rest is full of struggle with his mother particularly. On occasions when they should be happy, like the visit to Lincoln or their holiday it is the frustrating element of their mutual bond which is continually stressed. Yet how far is this subjective material treated objectively? Less than we might think. If Lawrence imagined the Morels in his own mind to be his own family he never made it deliberately obvious in his book. The writing is not even done in the first person, and Paul justly takes an inferior position to William for a long time. This first, auto-biographical part then is indeed the most objective, following Murry's idea, and can be read without one gaining any idea of a confession.

But still Paul is characterized subjectively when his childhood has been disposed of, because he does not then appear as the whole man. Lawrence left out the aspects of his mature self which he thought of contemptiously, preferring to ignore what he disliked rather than pruning, as an objective writer would, for the sake of the united purpose of the story. In Paul's childhood Lawrence gave instances of the boy's pure pleasure in the country, painting and playing, and of pure fear at his father's instability or his own illness; but when he reached Paul's manhood, so much nearer to him in time, prejudice played havoc with the picture presented. Even his pleasant social life is subordinated to the struggle for which seems to him the most important element in his life. 'There was Jessop... Swains', and a small paragraph skips over his superficial enjoyments. So little of Paul's social life is included that it is a shock to find, unexplained, the most earnest of a family of 'rabid teetotallers' drinking in a pub as a matter of course. Lawrence just didn't bother to explain how this situation developed because what was one of the strongest reacting elements in the earlier parts of the story is now disregarded as unimportant beside the spectacle of Paul's personal struggling relationships. This explains why Morel almost fades out of the picture when Paul has grown up even though we were told long before that a man drinking as he did was on his way to ruining his family; Lawrence never explains the salvation of the family because this takes second place soon to Paul's individual battle with life.

While he is obsessed with strength and rebellion Lawrence makes Paul most subjective and least realistic. We feel that there is something wrong about Paul as a person, something literally unbalanced;

"...But damn your happiness! So long as life's full, it doesn't matter whether it's happy or not. I'm afraid your happiness would bore me."

'You never give it a chance,' she said....

'...Aren't I well enough off?'

'You're not, my son. Battle--battle--and suffer.'"

It is a confession of Lawrence's own obsessed battle with himself. But there were more things than that in Lawrence's life, and so it is not a full confession. That is why we call it 'subjective.'

Jean Robinson, 6th form
Keighley Girls' Grammar School

Direct versus Indirect Instruction

A major difference in the British and American attitudes toward the teaching of writing concerns the extent to which teachers should intervene in the process of composition.[40] Sequential programs introducing young people to basic principles of rhetoric and fundamentals in written expression are nowhere to be found in the schools of England. Concepts like "parallel structure," "argumentation," "consistency of diction," "levels of abstraction," and "narrative point of view" are puzzling to most teachers and totally unknown to pupils, so much so that an attempt to employ a checklist of such concepts to assess knowledge of rhetorical principle had to be abandoned. The writing programs described in school syllabi focus almost entirely on writing situations, not on the skills and principles involved. Even matters of written usage seldom receive attention save for the occasional admonition to avoid stress on mechanics lest one misdirect the attention of the student writer from idea to form.

Moreover, as earlier noted, most teachers find little use for language and composition books, some of which do provide direct instruction in how to write. Individual interviews with some 83 separate teachers revealed an acrimonious and categorical rejection of all textbooks on writing. The teachers felt that such texts "have had it" because of their formal rigidity, inhibiting rather than encouraging pupil progress. Most suggested that whatever direct instruction in how to write might be needed by pupils could be presented by teachers during classroom writing lessons and could be based on actual experiences in written communication. Yet hour after hour of classroom observation failed to reveal many efforts to provide such direct help. Indeed teachers seemed studiously to avoid any kind of intervention whatever with the writing process, a restraint with which the observers could not always concur:

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[40] For an elaboration of this point, see Herbert J. Muller, The Uses of English. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967).

> After the boys and girls had taken out their exercise books and had begun writing, I circulated around the room with the teacher observing their progress. The teacher read each poem in progress and never failed to give an encouraging word. Never, however, did she give any advice or concrete suggestions for improving the poems. At one point, I stopped and talked to one boy who had produced two very good couplets out of a total of six. By pointing out how good I thought these two couplets were, by asking him to compare those couplets with the others as to rhythm, imagery, and length, and by suggesting possible ways that he could better unify the form with the content, the boy finally produced a poem that he was extremely pleased with and one that he was extremely anxious to read to the class. Though I had interfered in a way with his creative process, he was pleased.

Non-interference is the rule. The pupils are widely praised, their writing is read, shared, pinned on bulletin boards, and published in school magazines, but seldom do teachers deal directly with the improvement of sentences or paragraphs in the pupils' own work. Thus one observer described reading heart-felt pieces of student writing written in nearly illiterate prose over five or six pages of the pupils writing notebooks with no suggestions from the teacher on how the child might better express what he is striving to say. Such comments, according to the British view, would only divert attention from the ideas to the ineffectiveness of the language, interrupting the free flow of student expression. Said the observer: "The most extreme form of permissiveness in writing that I have ever seen. Yet it seems to be working well in this school."

The effect of such permissiveness, apparent in speech as well as writing (see Chapter VIII), is the creation of an atmosphere in which children feel free to express their ideas regardless of the limitations of their ability to communicate. Responding to the creative stimulus and to the emphasis on free expression, they write without concern for mechanics of expression. But they do write, even in the least able classes, and they write with zest and fluency. No restraining concern with correctness and appropriateness limits and circumscribes the expression of ideas.

But if British teachers devote less time to directly teaching young people how to write, they have found ways of helping more able learners develop a sense of effective written form from studying the writing of others. Although only the more perceptive teachers and English chairmen seem aware that they often teach by example, their programs are often organized to achieve this effect. Few British children are asked to write critical or analytical essays on literary topics before the fifth form, yet beginning in the fourth form in many schools the pupils read selected critical essays dealing with the major works which they are studying. Six months or a year of such reading--inevitably purposeful because it centers on learning about a literary work being studied--will often precede an actual classroom assignment of this kind. Thus by the time a student is asked to write a critique of the imagery in a poem or an analysis of the thematic structure of a short story, he has developed through his reading a general awareness of the form of the critical essay. Just as the experience with oral cadences and rhythms affects the writing of pupils, so wide reading of literary essays well in advance of individual writing influences the critical endeavor. This is indirect teaching at its best, teaching which recognizes the impact on form as well as idea which receptive experiences with language (i.e., reading, listening) can have on productive experiences in language (writing, speaking). Although consciously controlled and planned in only a very few schools, it is nevertheless one reason why so few British secondary pupils are bewildered when they first meet new modes of written expression.

This approach stands in sharp contrast to that followed in many American junior high schools, where teachers incessantly confuse receptive and productive experience. Too often the pupil, fresh from an elementary program which devotes little or no attention to critical questions about literature, is asked to discuss in writing the symbolism of a work like Hawthorne's "The Great Stone Face." Not only do such youngsters often not know what symbolism is, but, lacking any background in critical reading, they know not how to write about it. The teacher inevitably then assumes a dual responsibility for direct teaching--introducing the critical concept and teaching children how to treat it in writing. The indirect approach found in the better programs in Britain seems both more economical in terms of student and teacher time and more defensible pedagogically.

More widespread, however, beginning in the third or fourth forms, are weekly exercises in preparation for external language examinations which test student comprehension of non-literary prose. Although British teachers isolate preparation for this from instruction in either literature or writing, it seems clear that young people gain considerable insight into syntactical and rhetorical relationships through the continued study of selected paragraphs. Referred to normally as work in "language and interpretation," the weekly or biweekly exercises provide most pupils with direct instruction in perceiving the essential meaning of a short passage of prose. Often students are called upon to write a precis or summary of a difficult selection, practice which in itself forces condensation of thought and compactness of sentences. Moreover, specific questions direct attention to such problems as the selection of precise words, the relationships between sentences, the development of ideas, and the rhetorical effectiveness of the passage. The following exercise, for example, might be quoted from almost any American composition series; it comes rather from the Advanced Level English paper of the Associated Examining Board for the General Certificate of Education:

> 1. Study carefully the following passages, the first from a newspaper article and the second from a letter about the article. Then answer the questions which follow them.
>
> (A) There has recently been much publicity given to the success of teaching machines and such devices as closed-circuit television. It seems dangerously easy to drop into the belief that education _is_ information. Those who reject this utterly must ask themselves what they are trying to do--what is the aim of all education whatsoever if it is not the development of the individual mind along the lines that are most appropriate for it? There must be some reason, after all, why all the reports of recent years have seemed so ineffective. After one has read them it is as if one were

walking into a room where men had smoked cigars after a good lunch--and perhaps that is one thing that had taken place. There is a faint aroma, a faint haze, and that is all. The important people have gone away, and life for most of us goes on in much the same way.

We all know the nature of the danger that surrounds modern higher education. Stereotyped sixth-form courses, followed by intensive lecture courses at universities at which success depends on the overtaxed memory, may provide an "education" of sorts. But it is one from which victims may not recover for many years.

But we have to remember that all this study goes on in a world in which none but the most thoughtless of teachers can feel quite sure about the principles underlying much of their work. I am not speaking about that aspect of their teaching which is information but of the values that are involved and the applications that arise in the human sphere. I am speaking, in short, of the "penumbra" that surrounds every discipline however specialized and technical this may be. All that is essentially technical in education is studied with pedestrian accuracy and too often in a servile manner, while the great issues of life and death have become the matter of entertainment--the half-hour brains trust and the "Gallup" poll.

(B) I have always found that whilst the idea of a general course has been regarded as a "good thing"--provided one is not too specific about such questionable things as "values" --when it really comes down to the broadening effects on the minds of the pupils, there has invariably been a reaction in other departments. There is something vaguely indecent about getting pupils of 17 or 18 to think for themselves, particularly if you do not give them "the Answer" at the end of it!

(a) By means of a short summary show that the structure of passage (A) falls into three parts.

(b) In a development of his argument, which is omitted above, the writer of passage (A) outlines one accepted cure for the situation that he sees, although he himself finds the measure ineffective. From passage (B) state briefly:
(i) what this cure actually is, and
(ii) for what reason writer (B) denies its effectiveness.

(c) Suggest a title for passage (A).

(d) What tone does the writer of passage (B) adopt? State briefly how this tone differs from that adopted by the writer of passage (A).

(e) Taking both expressions together, examine the effectiveness of "It is as if...taken place" (lines 10-12) and "I am speaking...this may be" (lines 27-29).

(f) Refer by its line-number to any one expression (taken from either of the passages) which could be said to be clumsy. Rewrite in better English the example you have chosen.[41]

Though the language examinations take different forms, most include one or two questions of this kind. In addition, young people may be required to prepare a summary or précis and to write one or more brief essays on non-literary topics selected from a chosen list. In preparation for the language examination, most fourth and fifth form classes spend regular periods completing similar exercises often reprinted from earlier language papers. Call it the teaching of critical reading skill or the study of rhetoric, the repeated practice does directly teach comprehension of prose passages, and it seems probably to staff observers (though no teacher in the classes visited was stressing possible transfer of learning) that the stress on reading prose with considerable alacrity may influence abilities of pupils to write prose with increasing discrimination.

Significantly, however, the teachers in the U.K. do not conceive of applying such direct teaching approaches to the reading of literature or to experiences in writing. Partially because neither reading nor writing are associated with such tough, disciplined thinking, British children do not seem to develop the negative attitudes toward such experiences which permeate American classrooms. Neither the teachers nor the students enjoy the difficult, demanding study of prose passages, but they accept it as inevitable given the present system of external examinations. Whatever direct teaching of paragraph and sentence organization is introduced in these schools is thus skillfully isolated from the act of writing itself; whatever the loss in reinforcement and transfer of learning that results, the gain in favorable attitudes toward written composition is impressive indeed.

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[41] English-Paper II, Summer Examination, 1963-Advanced Level, Associated Examining Board for the General Certificate of Education.

Annotating, Correcting, and Revising

The predominant pattern for teaching writing in American schools has been the "write-correct-revise" pattern. Ineffective as it has often seemed in its emphasis on instruction after the act of writing is concluded, the pattern nevertheless dominates practice in schools visited by the National Study. To American teachers who lack the time to provide much individual help in composing, the "red pencilling" of student themes and the resulting revision of papers by pupils seems to offer important and necessary experience. This pattern, if ever characteristic of British education, now seems to be thoroughly discredited.

During the school visits, observers regularly examined sample sets of papers and writing booklets from classes at various levels. Only in a very few cases (not more than 20 percent) had papers been annotated with more than a single numerical grade or a single word of commendation ("Good," "Interesting," "Excellent"). Some schools even distinguished between "assessment" and "correction," the former being the overall perusal for a single mark, the latter the detailed annotation of errors.

In almost every case, it was "assessment," not "correction," that was the teachers' primary goal. About half the teachers observed relied only on overall assessment; a few occasionally corrected a spelling error or ventured a suggestion on punctuation. Only a handful (somewhat surprisingly in view of the interest in expression of ideas) responded positively or negatively to ideas of the pupils; and it was the rare teacher who displayed any interest in overall structure or development. Even where papers were carefully annotated, teachers rarely focussed on rhetorical effectiveness. Rather they rewrote short passages, corrected the spelling and punctuation, or concerned themselves with mechanical matters. But papers annotated even in this way were only infrequently found in these schools.

Nor were pupils normally required to revise or rewrite papers which had been annotated by the teachers. Observers reported no evidence of revision whatsoever in 43.5 percent of the schools, and correction of only an occasional word in another 43.5 percent. In 8.7 percent, observers noted evidence of young people asked to rephrase entire sentences. In only 4.3 percent--indeed in only three school situations in the United Kingdom--was any evidence found of young people rewriting an entire paper or making significant changes on the scale common in most American high schools. Indeed the very term "revision," as used in standard American lexicon, seems totally unknown in England where "revising" means to "review." Young people might be asked to "revise" Macbeth in preparation for an O level examination, but they are not likely to "revise" a paper.

The general absence of correction and revision is directly related to the prevailing conception of writing as the expression of personal experience. Jerry L. Walker notes the key distinction:

> One of the clues to (their) success is suggested by the use of the word, "paper." American teachers and students are product-oriented. The end result--the polished and perfect paper--is all. To British teachers and students, however, the writing itself is the important thing. They seldom speak of writing a paper; they do speak of doing some writing.[42] To be sure, British teachers correct students' writing in much the same way American teachers do, but they seem to do it with less conviction than American teachers that it will have a good effect. Certainly they rarely require revision. One can revise a paper, but how can one revise a writing experience?

The British teacher would put the difference another way. Why ask students to spend their time rewriting one paper when they may more profitably engage in the experience of writing another?

The clear distinction in British and American attitudes appeared again in responses to the issues questionnaire. As Table 22 indicates, the British in every case opt toward less frequent annotation and more extensive writing. To some extent the lack of concern with extensive annotation may be an adjustment to the heavy teaching loads carried by the majority of these teachers, many of whom meet 25 to 50 more students per week than does the typical American teacher (see Chapter X). Yet few British teachers complain about the paper burden as Americans are wont to do. Concerned with developing the expressiveness of their pupils, they are convinced that young people will ultimately learn to write on their own without direct teacher intervention through either preliminary instruction or subsequent correction. Indeed when asked to

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[42] Perhaps equally illuminating is the fact that university students "do English" or "read English"; they don't "take English" or "study English" as in the United States.

Table 22

Attitudes of British and American Teachers toward Annotation and Revision of Papers

(n = 143 British and 1481 American teachers)

Statement	Group	Agree	Disagree	Uncertain
		Percentage indicating they		
Given the choice, it is more important that each student write something each week than that each paper be evaluated closely.	UK US	82.0 51.7	6.9 34.2	11.1 14.1
There is more value in assigning four themes a month to be graded specifically for technical errors than in requiring two themes a month to be graded comprehensively for diction, grammar, sentence structure, content, logic, and development.	UK US	25.9 15.9	38.6 69.8	35.5 14.3
No composition or theme should be returned to a student which has not been rigorously examined for technical errors.	UK US	13.4 24.6	78.1 64.9	8.5 11.5
If they are to develop their writing skills adequately, students should be required to revise each paper thoroughly, and teachers must check these revisions to ensure understanding and improvement.	UK US	41.3 66.8	36.3 14.9	22.4 18.3
Marking papers with a double grade (for mechanics and content) is of more benefit to students than assigning a single comprehensive grade.	UK US	45.2 67.2	31.4 16.1	23.4 16.7

indicate the criteria on which they normally base their evaluation of pupils' work, teachers in the United Kingdom overwhelmingly identify "imagination and individuality" as the foremost concern, with "content, clarity of thought, and organization" and "appropriate development of ideas and content" mentioned second and third in frequency. Such matters as "usage, spelling, and punctuation," "sentence structure and word choice," and "format and appearance of paper" admittedly receive less attention. The emphasis reaches even into Scottish schools, where the Ministry of Education advises that of a full 150 points possible in a final English language examination, only 5 points will be deducted for spelling, punctuation, and mechanical errors. The syllabi on occasion do point out the value of careful correction and recommend some detailed annotation. Indeed one department head advises his upper form teachers to correct "eight lines" of each composition in considerable detail and then read the remainder for general impressions. Still, in almost every school, observers found as little concern for the thoughtful annotation of papers as for direct instruction in principles of rhetoric.

Creating a Sense of Audience

If the student composition is not corrected carefully by teachers, it is at least usually read--sometimes by the teacher, often by students working in pairs or small groups. Characteristically, the young people are seldom asked to engage in precorrection exercises or to advance suggestions for the improvement of one another's expression; rather they are asked to read papers for the single purpose of sharing experience. Some teachers invite pupils to read their passages to the total group;

others pin selected compositions to a classroom bulletin board where they can be easily read. English Festivals involving the public reading of creative poems and stories to invited outside audiences, projects in which children write for or to the elderly in state-supported homes, and the compilation of booklets of writing to be sent to children in neighboring communities or countries are not uncommon activities in these schools. The attempt to develop a sense of audience in each student writer is both more extensive and more deliberate than in the classrooms of the United States. Praise and affirmative response, not negative criticism and suggestion for improvement, are the cornerstones of these British composition programs.

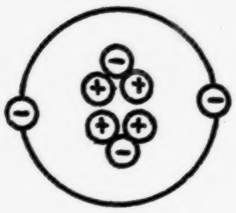
Teacher-pupil conferences on writing are also more common in Britain than in America. Students in 28 of the 34 upper form groups interviewed by observers reported relatively frequent conferences with teachers on their writing. The greater flexibility of school schedules with long noon hours and midmorning coffee breaks makes teachers more regularly accessible than in the American high schools. Although personal conferences are not often regularly scheduled by the teachers, they occur nevertheless. In these meetings, particularly those requested by pupils, the teachers are more attentive to structural and rhetorical problems than in their class teaching and on occasion even correct a passage of student prose with the youngster looking on. Indeed, Denys Thompson, one of the leading specialists on English Education in Britain, advises that the marking of student papers is of value only when the pupil himself is present to observe the process.

Of all of the great traditions of the British English departments, one of the best established is the school or class literary magazine. Quarterly journals, normally edited by upper form pupils with assistance from the English master, are common almost everywhere. In the traditional grammar and public schools, the magazines (like those occasionally seen in the United States) seem more a vehicle for public relations than an instrument for pupil learning. Yet in most other schools this is not the case. Planned and executed by the students, most magazines contain verse, prose, and reports on school events. Three issues during each school year are not uncommon, particularly in institutions where local advertisers are willing to lend their support to the venture. Indeed the attention lavished on articles and illustrations seems sometimes comparable only to the expenditure on the far less productive yearbooks in the United States.

But even when a literary magazine seems beyond the financial resources of the institution, mimeographed handouts suffice. Some teachers encourage pupils to prepare class literary magazines; others foster a special "Christmas report" or a collection focussed on a single theme. Articles dealing with current political and philosophical issues, not infrequently written in history classes, are sometimes included, and some schools regularly publish special magazines dealing with scientific matters. The literary magazine is viewed less as an appendage to many of these programs than as a way of providing a serious outlet for written expression of the pupils. Just as some teachers increasingly consider the literature written by pupils (e.g., poems, stories, essays) as part of the literary experience of the class (see Chapter V), so the literary magazine provides a way for all pupils in a school to share the more exciting talents of selected students. Perhaps the most unusual of all school magazines, although by no means necessarily the most creative, is the Scientia Ululae published by the Philosophical and Biological Societies of Manchester Grammar School. Reading more like a professional journal than the output of adolescents, the magazine presents articles (sometimes written by "old boys" as well as current students) on aspects of engineering, physical science, psychology, life science, and related topics. The following illustration perhaps not only suggests the quality of many of these yearbooks but also the achievement in scientific and technical prose ultimately reached by some pupils who pass through the creative English programs observed in the British schools.

Elementary, My Dear Particle

> Sub-atomic particles are now studied almost entirely by using high-energy accelerators, but the early twentieth century physicists did not have such sophisticated apparatus. It is therefore a tribute to the scientists of that time that many of the theorists' predictions were borne out by experiment long before the advent of the cyclotron.
>
> In the early 1900's physics was quite happily explained by two particles--the proton (positive) and the electron (negative), relative masses 1840:1. After Rutherford's α-particle scattering experiments, the following picture emerges:



Helium atom after Rutherford

We see that two electrons encircled the nucleus while the further two required to balance the charge were contained in the nucleus. This accounted for

(1) Helium nucleus with charge +2, mass about 4 protons.
(2) Helium atom--uncharged, mass also about 4 protons.

By 1920 this theory was floundering. Most particles have a property called spin, which comes only in multiples of a half-unit. It is usually imagined as a rotation about the particle's own axis. The spin of the nitrogen-14 nucleus was known to be a whole number, yet the sum of its constituent spins amounted to an odd number of halves. To preserve the nucleus's integrity, there was need of a new uncharged particle with the mass of a proton, a sort of coalesced proton-and-electron.

This need was amplified by the arrival in 1927 of Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle, that the more information an observer has about the position of a particle, the less is available about its velocity. This may be attributed to his clumsiness, in that by measuring one quantity he so disturbs the other that it no longer applies. A consequence of the principle is that a particle confined to a space of radius r must have a momentum of about h/r, where h is the ubiquitous Planck's Constant. The radius of a nucleus being about 10^{-13}cm, a nuclear electron is graced with an alarmingly high energy, and the nucleus is liable to spew forth its electrons with volcanic fury. This was indeed known to occur in certain radioactive elements (called B-radiation), but the above argument applied to all nuclei. Relief of this dilemma was long delayed because of the difficulties of detecting a particle, which, bearing no charge, is not deflected by magnetic fields and does not ionize gases.

In the meantime one Professor Dirac began sowing fresh seeds of revolt by means of his new theory, combining for the first time relativity and quantum mechanics. For all the impeccable answers his theory produced, it has one disastrous flaw. It was infested with negative energy states; there was nothing in the theory to prevent an electron from jumping without warning from a normal positive level to an inconceivable negative one. Indeed, according to quantum theory, this jumping was irresistible to electrons. Dirac turned to the only escape route--the Pauli Exclusion Principle, whereby no two electrons could occupy the same energy level unless they had opposite spin. This meant that no more than two electrons could occupy any one level. Now he could say that all the negative levels were already occupied by electrons, and this would prevent the spontaneous disappearance of any electron. But a negative-energy electron could jump to a positive level and become a normal electron, leaving behind a 'bubble' consisting of lack of negative energy (i.e., a positive energy) and lack of

> negative charge (i.e., a positive charge). Here was a chance to salvage the theory, if this bubble turned out to be a proton. Unfortunately, it insisted on being exactly a positively-charged electron, which was unknown. Dirac's rebellious proton met a dishonourable end.
>
> (From a 2200 word essay by A. E. Darlington,
> Manchester Grammar School)

Not all writing then is creative and personally oriented and not all writing occurs in classes in English. Translations from other languages, reports on field visits, criticisms of local theatrical companies, writing related to scripture lessons--these were frequently seen. But the route to such specialized writing is through experience in expressive prose. The new British teacher is convinced that only as a child expands his experience through expressing that which he sees and feels can he ultimately gain some reasonable control over the written language.

An Assessment of the British Approach

To conservative American observers unused to creativity unleashed so relentlessly, the most striking discovery about the British approach to writing is that it works. By the time young people enter the upper forms of the secondary school, whether in selective or unselective institutions, they are clearly writing as well as Americans of similar age. Exact comparison is impossible, particularly in a study geared less to contrast of pupil achievement than to exploring instructional practice. Yet it seemed clear to all observers that the young people in Britain write with a zest, enthusiasm, and freshness that many Americans would envy.[43] For them writing involves neither drudgery nor hard work; it is not a punishment instituted by the teacher. One could speculate that in lower forms the prose of even the better pupils is more prone to grammatical and usage error than is the prose of American youngsters in this age group, yet as British students approach maturity, they tend to free themselves from serious error. Given the concern with process and experience, the British teacher, unlike his American counterpart, is content to emphasize personal involvement in writing and accept slow, long range improvement. He worries less about perfection at any level and more about developing power. The American teacher, on the other hand, pressured if not obsessed with the importance of "correctness," cultivates perfection in every way he knows--through written exercises and drills; through direct instruction in grammar, vocabulary, and spelling; through extensive correction and revision of each written piece; through the study of rhetoric. Often indeed he achieves his aim and his students papers are free from obvious error. But often, too, the formal perfection of these papers is more than offset by an absence of real idea and feeling. The nation's high schools sometimes seem filled with students who can write perfect sentences and say absolutely nothing. And except for an occasional pupil, young people seldom respond to writing with the enthusiasm of those in Britain. Cultural differences in the two countries affect the manner and mode of learning, of course, and few American teachers could actually leave their children's language alone even if they wished to do so.[44] But the British success in creating a generation of writers through emphasis on creative expression offers an impressive demonstration that the ability to write does not have to be taught in any direct way and that the cultivation of expressiveness can lead ultimately to a reasonable command of written English in its many different forms.

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[43] For evidence beyond that presented here, see A. B. Clegg, The Excitement of Writing. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965).

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[44] For a detailed discussion of sociological factors which affect American attitudes toward language, see Chapter VIII, "Oral Language."

Implications for American Schools

The success of British teachers in developing and enhancing favorable attitudes toward composing with pupils at all levels of ability and achievement is surely one of the more remarkable findings of this study. Clearly, the rigid separation of expository and imaginative writing in American school programs must be challenged by the British experience. One might even ask whether such classifications has real meaning except for specialists in rhetoric who are concerned largely with adult models of composition. To children the form of writing may be less important than the essential experience itself, and it may matter little whether this experience is conveyed in prose or poetry so long as it is deeply experienced and honestly expressed.

Thus the most profound implication of British explorations in composition may be a reawakening of Americans to the expressive life of children. If our teachers cannot completely ignore direct attention to effectiveness in expression, they can at least recognize the importance of cultivating fluency and honesty, of "keeping the flow going" and of basing programs in composition less on rhetorical analysis of adult models than on study of children's own writing. The way to write like

Jessamyn West or James Reston may not be to emulate the adult prose of such distinguished writers, but rather to write as did such stylists during their formative years. More attention to the pupils' own writing, more concern with generic modes appropriate to each age group, more stress on sharing and communicating the creative experiences within the class and school group--these seem to be clear possibilities for American schools. Although few Americans will soon be ready to abandon the teaching of rhetoric, what may be needed is a developmental rhetoric of children's writing, a study of the effective expression of children at each level of development.

Methods of indirect teaching also need careful examination. With our less able learners, at least, excessive emphasis on direct intervention, the introduction of special drills and artificial written exercises, and the stultifying concern with formal aspects of writing have achieved little except the thwarting of any desire to communicate through composition at all. Before American teachers abandon their attempts to teach lower track pupils to write, they might explore more imaginative approaches. The occasional success of gifted teachers in motivating disadvantaged children through imaginative work suggests that more personal writing and less teaching about it may be a sorely needed corrective in our present program.[45]

One of the more exciting ideas discovered in Britain was the preparation of advanced pupils for specialized experiences through extensive prior reading. Though the practice requires further study, it seems to offer significant new ways of relating reading and writing experience in our schools. Extensive reading of reports on research before writing a research report; discussion of personal essays before writing a personal essay; study of critical articles before attempting a critique--these are possibilities within the range of every department of English. At least some of the direct and too frequently dismal instruction in how to organize and express ideas could be eliminated if pupils were sufficiently exposed to various genres through their own reading experience.

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[45] See, for example, Herbert Kohl, Teaching the Unteachable. (New York: New York Review, 1967).

Above all, American teachers need to reconsider the ways in which attitudes toward writing are cultivated. The notion that writing is difficult, that it brings no real satisfaction except the satisfaction of hard work, that it is not a natural and inevitable form of human communication, that it is a legitimate punishment for disorderly classroom conduct--such views too frequently are encouraged by our schools. But the British teacher has demonstrated that writing can be fun. It can be virtually spontaneous. It can be as natural an activity as speech itself. Though with the spectre of college entrance composition tests awaiting high school pupils (a type of external examination unlike any for which British students prepare) Americans are not likely to abandon concern over the rather limited varieties of expository writing demanded by the colleges, teachers can temper their approaches with greater awareness that through writing young people sensitize themselves to the world around them. They can recognize that depth of feeling and honesty of perception should be more highly prized than superficial correctness, that writing is less a set of behavioral skills than an expression of the expanding human personality.

CHAPTER VII

THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGE

> British teachers feel no need to teach the formal study of grammar, semantics, or the history of the language....
>
> There are no grammar courses, no studies of the history of the language. In fact, the schools seem to avoid the issue, if they even admit that an issue exists. The only time language is "studied" is in brief "units" on advertising when semantics becomes a topic for discussion.
>
> Knowledge is almost considered detrimental to the aims of the school. "Presenting kids with knowledge can stifle their creativity."
>
> At what cost is the high interest-level attained? At times an English class appears no more than directed play.

The most important fact about the teaching of language in the secondary schools of Britain is that there is so little of it. Whereas in American high schools observers noted confusion in purpose and sequence in most language instruction, in England they found no organized programs at all. Except in the schools of Scotland, the conception of language as content is unknown to classroom teachers, linguistics is regarded as "a foreign discipline," and the uneasy yet penetrating restudy of grammatical structure which has excited Americans for a decade has yet to concern any but a handful of British teachers.

Attitudes Toward Language

When asked to identify the three major components of English, Americans list literature, composition, and language--in that order. British teachers just as inevitably mention literature, composition, and speech. Language is not seen as a study in and for itself.[46] According to observers, only 6.1 percent of class time emphasizes the teaching of language, compared with 13.5 percent in American schools (Figure 1, Chapter III). Even this is higher than the percentage estimated by British department chairmen who report only 4.4 percent of class time devoted to grammar, usage, and the history of the language below form IV and only slightly more thereafter. Surprising, too, is the contrast between British and American programs for non-academic pupils. The Americans devote 19.9 percent of class time to the study of language, mostly to exercises in English usage; the British give only 7.8 percent of their effort to such activity. That the differences in practice mirror differences in attitude is revealed in Table 23.

Thus two-thirds of the British teachers in these schools reject language as an integral component of the English program, only a third believe information on linguistic structure will benefit use, and two-thirds reject a single standard of usage, a point of view with which American teachers are in basic disagreement.[47] With such attitudes widespread, it is not surprising that observers found little class time

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[46] See discussion of these components in Chapter VIII, "Speech and Oral Language."

[47] See discussion of usage in Chapters VI and VIII, "Writing" and "Speech and Oral Language."

Table 23

Attitudes toward Language Expressed by British and American Teachers

(n = 162 U.K. teachers, 1481 American teachers)

Issue	Group	Agree	Disagree	Uncertain
		Percentage of Teachers Indicating		
The language component should be taught as an integral part of English according to an organized plan rather than introduced as the need occurs in relation to writing and usage of students.	U.K.	20.7	67.9	11.4
	U.S.	53.5	32.2	14.3
Instruction about the structure of language is necessary to one's learning to use the language proficiently.	U.K.	31.8	47.6	18.1
	U.S.	65.9	18.1	16.0
Because language patterns vary constantly according to use, it is unrealistic to insist on a single standard of usage among students.	U.K.	66.5	15.7	17.8
	U.S.	42.1	42.6	15.3

spent on the study of grammar, much less on the varieties of English or linguistic history itself. Terms like "determiners," "nominative absolutes," "consistency of diction," "sentence patterns," and "conditional clause" are not only not introduced in the classrooms of Britain but are unknown to a majority of the department heads. Small wonder then that Americans, who have devoted endless hours to improving language instruction in our schools, rate programs in language as the fifth greatest weakness observed in British schools. (See Table 3, Chapter III.) "Formal study of grammar and usage is almost unknown," commented J. N. Hook. "I saw no workbooks, and there was little indication that textbooks in grammar and usage are used more than sporadically if at all."

British teachers with long memories recall days when parsing was a frequent classroom exercise. The modern emphasis on oral and written expression moves in another direction. If teachers in many of these schools reject the humane value which some Americans see in the study of language for its own sake, their attitude is consistent with their rejection of most knowledge *per se* (e.g., the study of the history of literature, the study of rhetoric, the study of criticism) and their stress on creative written and oral expression. As Priscilla Tyler observes,

> The emphasis on "engagement" also brings some teachers to speak of "real English" and "non-English." Real English is the study of language as the major instrument of the imagining and humanistic man who knows how to make words work "for mortal stakes." Non-English is the study of language as a set of conventions and is associated with conventionalism and non-relevant standards of social prestige. They do not exclude but give low priority, therefore, to grammar as a set of conventions and downplay spelling because they consider it mainly a matter of conventions.

Some attention, then, to syntax and usage may be introduced in relation to actual use, but there is little place in these schools for the planned study of a grammatical system. In group interviews more than half of the specialist sixth form English pupils could not recall any instruction in grammar. Study of linguistic history receives even shorter shrift--at most incidental attention to the origins of particular words as they arise in the classroom. Despite the variation in local dialect observed in student speech, the direct study of social and regional varieties of English was not typical of instruction in any school below the Scottish border. Prevailing practice and point of view are suggested in statements from school syllabi:

> The course in English Language aims to train each pupil to read and write and speak fluently, correctly and clearly...With this end in view, formal grammar is reduced to the minimum which will enable pupils to express themselves with accuracy and precision.
>
> Bishop Gore Grammar School

> Points of grammar are best dealt with as they arise in composition work. Some formal grammar is useful insofar as it provides one with terms for certain forms and patterns which make for easy reference when dealing with problems of punctuation, etc., but don't set meaningless exercises in verbal manipulation where the contact with any kind of real interest or communication disappears.
>
> Thomas Bennett School

British teachers would have it no other way. Unlike Americans concerned about confused programs and uncertain approaches, not more than one or two teachers expressed concern about the absence of such instruction. Nor did sixth form students feel their education had been inadequate. Although some would have appreciated more directed instruction in how to use language, an even greater number approved the current emphasis or wished for even less restrictive programs in the future.

The one discordant note is to be found among teachers of modern languages, some of whom "deplored the lack of emphasis on grammar in

English programs," a cant familiar to American educators who have wrestled with similar complaints. But perhaps one reason for the success of the British in establishing programs emphasizing use is their strong tradition of foreign language instruction. Except in the specialized modern schools for low ability students, a four year course in one modern language is required of almost all; not infrequently young people learn two, three, even four languages in the state-supported comprehensive and grammar schools. And instruction in the modern languages is basic to public school education. As one observer reported,

> Foreign languages (Latin, Greek, German, French, Russian, and Chinese--through a special endowment for the Chinese) are all taught, and teachers of English, I noted, frequently stick in a Latin, French, or German phrase. The classical languages, though, have fewer specialists each year; the head of classics, who also teaches English, remarked rather sadly to me, "Perhaps in a few years I'll be teaching nothing but English."

Is it possible that such strong programs so inform young people about their own language through a comparative approach that the study of structure in English classrooms becomes superfluous?

An exception must be made for the schoolrooms of Scotland, where concern for the formal aspects of English study remains important. Scottish teachers, like many Americans, are more concerned with use than understanding. Through the Scottish Education Department and the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, experimental curricula involving the direct study of language are being tested in selected classrooms, and a handful of forward looking Scots are even pursuing an interest in applications of linguistics to literary study. In England, except for a handful of specialists in the universities and colleges, no such individuals are to be found. Despite the splendid work of Randolph Quirk, M.A.K. Halliday, and Basil Bernstein at the University of London--work which has been carefully considered even by American educators--similar interest in language cannot be found at the school level. Quirk's excellent school text on The Use of Language is not found in many of the teachers' professional libraries, much less the classrooms, and the most that can be reported is the willingness of our teacher to provide a course in language as an elective for specialist pupils in the upper forms.

Teaching the Uses of Language

Most language instruction, then, is taught in direct relation to pupil's oral and written expression. Even this work is less extensive than that found in American schools. Incidental instruction seems almost too strong a term to apply to British efforts in syntax and usage; occasional help is more descriptive. The teachers seem confident that young people will develop effectiveness through the practice of expression. The less teacher intervention, the better. One university lecturer advocates "nudging" pupils to learn a bit about the idiom of English as opportunities arise, and the image is probably accurate for what teachers say they are trying to do.

This emphasis on language for use rather than as content is seen in the rankings assigned by department chairmen to a list of objectives for language programs in the schools (Table 24). In these rankings, no major differences appeared in responses of teachers in England, Scotland, and Wales.

Table 24

Objectives in Teaching Language as Reported by Department Chairmen

(n = 42 reports)

Objective	Number of Chairmen Ranking #1	#2	#3
To enable the pupil to express his ideas clearly and forcefully.	26	12	2
To help the pupil recognize the varieties and complexities of language and thereby give him more refined tools of communication to commensurate with his maturity and ability.	12	17	6
To help the pupil analyze and thus understand his language through logic and order.	0	1	7
To help the pupil keep the language within the bounds of convention and propriety.	0	1	6
To help the pupil appreciate the heritage of his language.	1	0	5
To give the pupil practice in revising faulty sentences.	0	7	1
To enable the pupil to know the rules of correct English.	0	0	2
To help the pupil understand the structure of his language so that he may more readily learn a foreign language.	0	0	1
To enable the pupil to identify grammatical units and constructions.	0	0	0
Other	3	4	4
No Response	0	0	5

The British feel they achieve these goals by concentrating on actual writing and speaking situations, not through a program of independent exercises. The American National Study, for example, reported use of grammar books to be second among fourteen selected classroom practices; in the United Kingdom, the use of such books ranked eleventh of twelve observed practices--only workbooks were less frequently to be found. (See Chapter III.) When grammar textbooks are in evidence, syllabi point toward their deficiencies:

> The grammar books we use are far from perfect. Where there is a conflict between the needs of pupils or the suggestions of this Syllabus, and the textbook, abandon the textbook!
>
> Wandsworth Comprehensive

> Textbook exercises produce very little yield indeed for the effort expended on them. The time is far better spent on giving the class a book to read and going over mistakes with individuals: one might well spend 25% of English time doing this.
>
> Bristol Grammar

Not many except the most conservative teachers devote full periods to the study of printed exercises. The only instruction in grammar seen by an observer was in the classroom of an American exchange teachers, desperately trying to "fill gaps in the pupils' knowledge" concerning restrictive and non-restrictive clauses. Of the traditional language books still in use, four-year courses prepared by Denys Thompson and Raymond O'Mally seem to be most widely available. They tend to stress actual writing and are regarded as a "transitional program" between formalist training of old and the free expression of today. A few chairmen pointed with regret to the continued use of Ridout's English Today, a course which once must have been the British equivalent of the

American Tressler. Newer textbooks are capitalizing on and perhaps institutionalizing creative, personal experience. I've Got to Have Words by David Holbrook and English through Experience by A. W. Rowe and Peter Emmens attract adherents,[48] but most teachers rely on their own ingenuity to provide stimuli for pupil imaginations. The chapter titles in some of these books suggest the orientation: Fire; Sounds; The Hunt; Made for Pure Pleasure; Fog (A Seasonal Special); Pen Portraits; Looking; That Moment!; Food, Glorious Food; Windy Days (A Seasonal Special); Waters of the World; Surface Beauty; Smells; Flight; Summer Rain (A Seasonal Special).

"Most of the teachers who have textbooks indicate they do not use them directly or extensively," wrote one observer. The books are relied on mainly for practice exercises in usage and punctuation, and as a supplement to what has been taught. They are often used, also, in preparing for examinations, and sometimes for reference. In individual interviews, however, no teacher reported using these textbooks as the basis for a continued course of study.

Most items of usage and grammar are thus taught as the need emerges spontaneously in classwork. No teachers reported attempts to diagnose individual language problems. Nor are efforts made to relate matters requiring personal attention to generalizations about the use of language. Teachers have faith that by learning the specifics in the context of a particular assignment, students will eventually come to a generalization and be able to transfer what they learn in one context to other appropriate situations. Americans were skeptical: "I doubt that students do that unless teachers consciously and systematically lead students to generalizations and help them see specific transfer value."

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[48] David Holbrook, I've Got to Have Words. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); A. W. Rowe and Peter Emmens, English through Experience, Books I-IV. (London: Blond Educational, 1965-67). Chapter titles are taken from Book I of English through Experience.

Yet the fact remained that in use of language orally and in writing as well (Chapters VI and VIII), the British students generally seemed more fluent, articulate, and expressive than their American counterparts.

But if to American eyes the programs lack sequence and result in limited understanding of the nature of language, it would be unfair to conclude that they necessarily lack precision and rigor. Some teachers (in America as in Britain) seemed careless and slovenly in their handling of instruction in the use of language, but others manipulated situation-based learning with unusual skill. At George Watson's Ladies College in Scotland (a six-year grammar school), one observer reported,

> In most ways these girls were getting a very vigorous, precise kind of classical education. I saw one teacher give a spelling and vocabulary test which included the word "alibi." One girl defined the word as meaning "excuse." The teacher immediately and emphatically announced to the class, "Alibi does not mean 'excuse'; it comes from the Latin and means 'in another place'. I repeat, "It does not, not, not mean 'excuse'.

In this school, admittedly somewhat of an exception, the intellectual atmosphere was one that recognized some facts as unchanging and permanent. Situation-based the instruction may be, but with recognition that mankind has accumulated a great deal of knowledge which must be learned. "It is important, of course, for the girls to feel and express emotions and ideas," said the observer, "but first they must know."

Far more typical, although no less rigorous, was the program described in the syllabi of one of England's most celebrated public schools:

> As there would seem to be no necessary connection between the ability to write grammatically and the ability to give 'correct' answers to questions of formal grammar, the value of administering formal grammar, even in small digestible doses, is open to doubt. If one cannot "say" anything that contradicts the laws of logic, any more than one can draw a figure that contradicts the laws of space, the same consideration might be said to apply to grammar--at least in this respect, that in most cases of grammatical muddle one is dealing with a failure to communicate or say anything. All that needs to be known about sentence-structure and the way in which words function can be brought out more clearly in practice, by going over mistakes in composition with the boy concerned and persuading him that he has failed to say what he intended.
>
> Marlborough College

But for all the deemphasis on direct instruction, the observers still concluded that as a result of so much experience with oral language, young people in the United Kingdom seem more expressive, more fluent, and, on the whole, more articulate than many youngsters viewed in American classes. Indeed as the summary impressions make clear (Chapter III), the quality of student participation in discussion was highly praised almost everywhere.

The Language of the Mass Media

One frequent exception to the usual approach to linguistic matters is the attention which British teachers devote to the language of advertising. "Critical awareness of the special approaches employed by the mass media" seems to be a major goal, especially in form IV where almost 10 percent of classroom study is devoted to this program. The English chairman of one large comprehensive school in London has prepared a series of exercise sheets which are now available commercially.[49] Special questions direct attention to the nature of the appeal, the possible motivation, and the choice of words. The following is typical:

> Example A:
>
> Something wonderful happens when you cook Knorr Vegetable Soup. There in your saucepan the Knorr Soup Goodness grows - the fresh, natural goodness of country vegetables cooked for the very first time. Knorr soups are not cooked until you cook them! That's why they taste so good--fill those hungry corners so well.
>
> Example B:
>
> ONION SOUP to be diluted.
> Serving instructions to obtain a tasty soup, empty into a saucepan and add an equal volume of water. Heat and bring to boil. Place some break slices in a bowl, pour on soup and sprinkle with grated cheese. If desired, before serving add some butter.
>
> Ingredients: Onions, fats, meat extract, M.S.G., salt spices, and aromatic herbs.
>
> Product of France.
>
> Example C:
>
> This rich, creamy Supreme Sauce has been specially prepared to a unique recipe from specially selected ingredients, so that you can make a fabulous French-style Chicken Supreme.
>
> Questions:
>
> > Which are the most helpful instructions for the making of soups, B or C?

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[49] Michael Marland, Looking at Advertising. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965-1967).

> All three labels use words to praise their products. What are these words, and which do you find the most convincing?
>
> Explain the reasons for using the word "Country" in Example A.
>
> What is the difference between the references to France in Examples B and C?

In one form or another, classroom exercises of this type are common. They appear so frequently in form IV because this is the school-leaving age for many of the young people, and the teachers endeavor to prepare them for the practical realities of life outside. Although some teachers feel that the attention to semantic properties of words used in advertising may be excessive, none suggest such an approach might be extended to include the uses of language in more basic aspects of human behavior.

Language and Examinations

Upper form students are almost universally required to complete an examination paper on the English Language, but this stresses use rather than theoretical understanding of English. A typical paper requires the student to prepare a brief précis or summary of a relatively difficult prose text, measures his ability to understand fine distinctions in the choice of words and organization of ideas in carefully chosen passages, and often calls on him to explain the meaning of selected words. Only rarely does an examination require identification of parts of speech or of the elements of an English sentence; British teachers believe they can prepare classes for any questions which require grammatical nomenclature through the most cursory overview immediately prior to the test.

The précis or summary writing and the questions on words used in context require far more extensive preparation, however. Beginning in the fourth form in most schools, one class hour weekly is devoted to exercises preparing for the "Use of Language" paper. In both the concentration on succinct summary of complex ideas and the attention given to words and ideas within the paragraph, these exercises may do much to inform boys and girls about denotation and connotation, about the development of ideas, even about certain principles of rhetorical effectiveness not introduced elsewhere. Such activities are kept scrupulously separate from other work in literature or writing; under no circumstances are literary passages used as the basis for study.

The English examinations for the Certificate of Secondary Education are less rigorous and demanding, yet they often do measure pupils' sensitivity to the language of advertising. In one examination for the Metropolitan Regional Examinations Board, students were shown a filmed advertisement for a Chevrolet, given the scenario to read, then asked to view the film a second time before writing on such questions as the following:

> The tone of this advertisement is obviously light-hearted. Give one example of a sound contributing to the humorous effect.
>
> Make a list of the six qualities of the Chevrolet as described in the sound-track of this advertisement. Name two other pieces of information about this car that were not given in this advertisement.

The uses of language, then, as it is heard, read, and spoken, are the focus of these examinations, the same uses of language that are stressed throughout the classroom programs. Whatever knowledge about language young people develop they acquire on their own.

Experimentation with Language in Scotland

A description of language programs in the United Kingdom would be incomplete without some mention of new developments north of the border. Although Scottish teachers accept the English emphasis on use, they by no means have abandoned direct study of language. Less concerned with creativity and improvised drama, they spend somewhat more time on the study of the English sentence. Language books and exercises are seen more frequently in Scotland; teachers are more aware of new scholarly stirrings. In five of the seven schools visited, chairmen inquired about practices in the states. Two had completed special course work in modern linguistics; a third was studying the linguistic analysis of literature at the university; and a fourth even used Paul Roberts' _Patterns of English_ for reference in his classroom. In few English schools was a similar interest found. Not many of the Scottish teachers justified such instruction for the knowledge of man's linguistic behavior, which it might provide, but the nature of the instruction was not unlike that which might be found in many American schools.

New materials for language instruction are also being introduced into Scottish classrooms. Study of the varieties of English (dialect and register) was found in experimental curricula in two different locations. Descriptive grammar formed the basis for another course involving extensive study of mimeographed exercise sheets. The impetus for such experimentation comes from the Scottish Education Authority which, working with university and college specialists, provides materials and training sessions to inform teachers about scholarly work in language.

In England neither the education authorities nor college specialists concerned with the schools seemed interested, and concern with language as a separate discipline remains everywhere ignored.

The Education of Teachers in Language

The neglect of language study in British programs can be attributed to both a lack of knowledge and a lack of interest. Few teachers seem aware of the vast accumulation of scholarship now being made available in America. Having rejected the sterile exercises associated with schoolroom grammar of the past, they are in no mood to accept a new grammar which they feel is unlikely to improve the oral and written expression of their pupils. The possibility that programs in language might be planned to provide young people with basic knowledge about the history and nature of the Mother tongue seems not to have been widely considered. Some are aware of the studies of Quirk and Halliday but fear attempts to apply such ideas in the school. Those who had seen new American curricula in transformational-generative grammar reacted with horror to the system. Although they talk much about the language development of young people, they seem relatively uninformed about the psychology of language learning and the nature of language development. Indeed their practice frequently violates principles of learning supported by empirical research. For example, teachers were seen forcing young people to follow inadequate and uncertain oral readings by fellow students, a practice which educational research has long demonstrated can have a retrogressive effect on reading skills. Others seem to lack basic awareness of the great individual differences to be anticipated in the quality of language used by young people and their conversations with students frequently betrayed an unwillingness or inability to look at individual progress over a long period of time. Indeed the lack of a long range view of language development coupled with concentration on each particular classroom situation resulted in neither teachers nor students considering improvement from one activity to another. Only a very few teachers even talked about a sequence of speech experiences which might move from the relatively simple to the relatively complex as the young people grew in assurance and skill. One observer commented tartly: "I find most English teachers in this country know precious little about learning theory and language learning. They operate more on philosophical and emotional insights than on any rational basis. Most would be far more effective if they understood what research can tell us about what to do and what not to do in language and reading."

At the Anglo-American Seminar at Dartmouth College in 1966, Americans and Englishmen quarrelled over how much, if any, direct instruction on language (history, structure, dialects) should be introduced in the classroom. But they agreed unanimously that the teacher of English must understand what is known about language and language learning.[50] All conferees felt that teachers need basic preparation in language studies to sensitize themselves to much that their students never even begin to formulate. In Britain such preparation seems still a distant goal. The teaching witnessed in most British classrooms does not reflect any basic understanding of language and linguistic processes. No awareness of the ways in which language is acquired sharpens insight into student performance; no comprehension of structure or linguistic history is called into play as teachers discuss compositions and texts with their pupils. Certain outstanding exceptions may be noted among the specialists in institutes and colleges of education, particularly at the University of London and Birmingham University (by and large the group participating in the Dartmouth Seminar), but generally most British teachers have not studied the English language, the Ministry and local education authorities offer little assistance, and the voices of linguists remain curiously muted in the land. At Cambridge, one teacher did recall an experimental seminar in language for teachers some years before, but the course was unpopular with students, seemed "unproductive," and was quickly withdrawn.

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[50] The discussion is reported in Herbert J. Muller, The Uses of English. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1967).

In the present climate of opinion, the formal study of language seems unlikely to engage the attention of many teachers. Indeed, when asked about the advanced studies in English in which they would be most interested, the overwhelming majority wanted more work in literature or curriculum development, the areas in which they are already most informed. Some two-thirds admit "little or no interest" in studying the history of the English language or structural or transformational-generative grammar; 90 percent reject traditional grammar as a present interest. In their knowledge of the history and structure of literature, the majority of these British teachers are well informed; and though they are not interested in imparting their understanding to pupils, their classroom approaches are often influenced by the knowledge. In language, most seem unwilling even to open their minds to the new ideas.

The lack of interest in language is especially limiting in secondary and comprehensive schools enrolling students from the working class. What British Inspector E. Glyn Lewis noted at the Dartmouth Seminar seems applicable to most teachers in the schools:

> One of the features of the attitude expressed by the most representative of the British group of teachers was an unwillingness to allow psychology and sociology to embrace. It was reflected, for instance, in the disinclination to be interested in the researches of Bernstein and the apparent indifference to the sociology of language expounded so modestly and graciously by Fishman. The British interest in language appeared to be confined to the existence as "parole"; they were willing to ignore language as a social institution as "langue."[51]

Some understanding of out-of-school forces affecting the linguistic behavior of children seems essential in modern inner city classrooms. Yet with the exception of Scotland and one or two university centers, teachers in the United Kingdom remain relatively uninformed compared with their American counterparts.

Implications for American Schools

Most American schools at present introduce young people to a grammatical system, to the facts about dialect and language variation, to lexicography and the history of language, and sometimes even to the principles of semantics. None of these components are to be found in most British programs. Stress on the writing and especially the speaking experience as the most efficient approach to effective expression is not a new insight for Americans, but the success of British programs in teaching young people to speak and write may strengthen the convictions of some who feel that current direct instruction is misguided or unnecessary. At the least, a knowledge of British practice should sharpen the distinctions (which Americans are too inclined to blur) between teaching about language and teaching the use of language. In too many schools in the United States (in spite of evidence from research and admonitions from linguists and specialists in teaching), teachers continue to have faith that the study of language will improve the writing of students, rather than justifying it as a humanistic discipline in its own right.

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[51] E. Glyn Lewis, "Postscript to Dartmouth or Poles Apart," paper reporting on the Dartmouth Seminar prepared for the British Ministry, 1967 (mimeographed).

Finally, the confusion in attitudes and approaches among British teachers lends strong support for strengthening preservice programs in language and language learning for those who plan to teach. Sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics have much to offer teachers in planning classroom work. Clearer understanding of what is known about how language develops seems essential to achieving more intelligible programs in Britain; lack of it may be one reason why so many teachers remain confused about the educational purpose underlying their approaches to such areas as speech and oral language.[52] Such knowledge is no less necessary to teachers seeking to provide sound programs in the United States.

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[52] See Chapter VIII, "Oral Language."

CHAPTER VIII

ORAL LANGUAGE

> The program in oral language is remarkable for the amount of expression provided and for the planned neglect of correct mechanics.
>
> The assumption seemed to be that stress on drama, improvisation, talking, and debating would lead inevitably to better reading and better writing.
>
> The powerful atmosphere which these teachers generate in discussion sessions with their classes and colleagues amazed us and calls for a thoughtful response from American educators.
>
> "Talk as art" is not a slogan but a description. Students are put in situations where they are forced to think on their feet, and speak spontaneously and fluently in the light of conditions set up in the lesson.

Observers accustomed to the neglect of speech instruction in many American classrooms were not prepared for the stress on oral language they found in British schools. Concern was expressed, however, that the union of new theory and new practice manifest in programs in literature, writing, and improvised drama had not been achieved in speech instruction, where teachers frequently seemed to flounder in efforts to develop a new methodology. Practice varied widely and seldom seemed distinguished by the overt successes that marked other aspects of the "new English." But on one issue the British teachers were far more unified than their American colleagues: a sound program in oral language is basic to the teaching of English.

It was not always so in Britain. Teachers with long experience recalled formal speech programs with emphasis on public presentation, debate, and the development of "standard" accent. It was the Newsome Report of 1963 which seemed to articulate a new national resolve:[53]

> There is no gift like the gift of speech; and the level at which people have learned to use it determines the level of their companionship, the level at which their life is lived. (p. 118)
>
> The overriding aim of English teaching must be the personal development and social competence of the pupil. And of all the different aspects of English, speech has by far the most significant contribution to make to that development. (p. 153)

Whether the Newsome Report stimulated or merely reflected an existing consensus, the stress on oral language activities in British classrooms is pronounced. Observers report approximately one-third of all class time devoted to speech and improvised drama (Chapter III, Tables 4 and 7). (Drama and speech activities are discussed separately in this report only as a convenience to American readers. British teachers would group them together.) Contrast this emphasis with the 4.9 percent of class time devoted to the formal and informal study of speech in American classrooms! Even more striking is the widespread recognition of speech as one of the three major components of the total English program, equal in importance to the teaching of composition. (See Table 25.) If the familiar tripod image were used to describe the structure of programs in these British

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[53] Central Advisory Council for Education, Half Our Future. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963.) Although ostensibly dealing with the education of pupils aged 13 to 16 of average and less than average ability, the report, according to many British specialists on English teaching, outlines the education many would recommend for all. John Newsome chaired the committee preparing the report.

Table 25

Instructional Priorities of British Teachers of English

(n = 143)

Rank Order Percentage Responding	First Priority in Instruction	Second Priority in Instruction	Third Priority in Instruction
1	Literature (36.4 percent)	Composition (26.6 percent)	Speech (27.3 percent)
2	Speech (19.6 percent)	Speech (18.2 percent)	Listening (10.5 percent)
3	Composition (18.9 percent)	Listening (5.6 percent)	Composition (5.6 percent)
	Other or No Response (25.1 percent)	Other or No Response (49.6 percent)	Other or No Response (56.6 percent)

schools, the three legs would have to be speech, literature, and writing. Table 26 comparing British and American attitudes towards issues in the teaching of speech, reveals further striking differences.

Table 26

Attitudes toward the Teaching of Speech

		Percent of Teachers:		
Statement		Agree	Disagree	Uncertain
Because of the increasing emphasis on the spoken word, more stress must be placed on the skills of speaking and listening, even if this means devoting somewhat less time to literature or written composition.	British (n = 162)	73.3	9.6	17.1
	American (n = 1481)	43.8	34.6	21.6
At least once during each semester, every student should have the opportunity to give a prepared oral presentation to his English class.	British (n = 162)	76.7	5.3	18.0
	American (n = 1481)	83.2	6.4	10.4

One British English department even insisted that "Teachers here consider [speech] their primary responsibility and most of them would spend over 60 percent of their time in talking activities. They regard it as much more important than writing or reading." More probably a majority of British teachers would insist that speech is "not more important than writing and reading but certainly equally important." They oppose "formal" work, are "anti-elocution," and believe in "talk" rather than speech, a distinction that probably accounts for the lesser enthusiasm for "prepared oral presentation" in Britain compared with attitudes in the United States.

Speech education, then, is a central concern in British secondary schools, but it is a concern of teachers who for the most part have completed no formal college work in the subject. Departments of Speech do not exist in the British universities at which a majority of these teachers receive their college degrees. The new colleges of education do introduce some preparatory work in speech, and an occasional specialist on drama reports graduation from an independent school of speech and theatre. But the fragmentation of Speech and English as separate disciplines in higher education is as unknown in England as it is widespread in the United States. (One can only speculate that the fragmentation of American secondary courses between Speech and English might never have occurred had the university departments not gone their separate ways.)

Considering the isolation of speech in our own secondary programs and the acknowledged verbal polish of educated British colleagues, observers were surprised to find Americans viewed again and again as models of articulate speech to be emulated by British students. Not the polished speech of American leaders, but the typical responses of the "man on the streets" is what impresses British educators. In Yorkshire and the North Country particularly, where lack of verbal skills is frequently cited as a major problem, headmasters and English chairmen repeatedly express their admiration for the fluency of the American populace. Here American television programs broadcast in English have had an unexpected and curious impact, creating the image of an average American shoved before a microphone and able to withstand almost any interviewer's questions with reasonable grace and skill. The British too seek such an articulate and fluent populace. Yet American observers, accustomed to the deadening silence in too many American classrooms, find British education far more advanced. As Jerry L. Walker observes,

> A notable success is the freedom of British students to express themselves orally. Our American observers were told repeatedly that English students do not communicate effectively with their peers and teachers and that oral communication was probably the primary goal of the English program. Classroom interviews and observation, however, nearly always showed the students' oral discourse to be marked with the same freedom and fluency that characterized their writing even though the intrusion of foreigners sometimes had a dampening effect. When asked what things they liked best about their school's English program, the students nearly always cited the freedom they had to express themselves in the classroom.

The Purposes of Speech Education in Britain

Speech education in the United Kingdom is not concerned with the study of an organized discipline, with learning principles of rhetorical effectiveness, or with elocution, pronunciation, and accent. Indeed, the term "rhetoric" is virtually unknown; one Lecturer in Education confessed he felt the conception of rhetoric as a subject was "a fabrication of Americans designed as rationalization for empty college courses on composition."

Like programs in writing or literature, classroom activity in speech is geared to actual use. Classroom "talk" - informal, fluent, spontaneous - is the key, not "speech" which suggests to modern British teachers an oldline, formalistic approach. Yet out of the concern for fluency and expressiveness is emerging, in the minds of the more thoughtful teachers, a new theory of communication. Speech, according to Andrew Wilkinson, Lecturer at Birmingham University, is "a condition of learning in all subjects; it is not a frill but a state of being in which the whole school may operate." To James Britton, Reader at the London Institute of Education, it is even more basic:

> One of the major functions of speech is that by its means we declare ourselves as individuals and not until we have done that can we establish relationships between the members of a group...These relationships are established partly by non-verbal signals, but are largely dominated by and focussed upon verbal signals; and we must acknowledge the power of our speech to create, and particularly to destroy, relationships of trust and goodwill...We place ourselves socially and psychologically with regard to each other above all by means of our speech.[54]

Thus the harvest of classroom talk is not to be reaped in speech alone but in better thinking and judging. Talk is the way in which the child examines his relationships with his surrounding environment and later his relationships with others and his world. What is said is important and so is the way it is said, but most basic of all is the way in which the manner of saying affects the child's own perceptions and what Britton calls the "intricate network" of relationships in the classroom and outside. One basic function of speech education, then, is to enable young people to establish better relationships, "not only in the kind of grouping they are habitually in in the playground and at home and in the classroom, but gradually to enable them to maintain relationships with an increasing range of kinds of group."[55] Both kinds of talk and the social situations in which talk is employed become important. "This is a social necessity, and this social requirement of language is one of our own objectives," writes Britton. The second major objective is to "achieve something or to get somewhere by means of speech."

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[54] J. N. Britton, "Speech in the School," in Andrew Wilkinson, ed., Some Aspects of Oracy, Bulletin II, National Association for the Teaching of English (Summer 1965); p. 2.

[55] Ibid., p. 2.

More than merely the cultivation of articulate citizens, speech education in Britain is concerned with the whole range of linguistic and human problems that young people go through in the process of exploring relationships. This, in essence, is what is meant by John Dixon of Wakefield when he talks of the "expressive possibilities of natural and dramatic speech for its own sake," and viewing classroom talk and classroom drama as one (for in improvised drama young people test out modes of speech in varied life situations). It is this which Nancy Martin of London means when she speaks of "talk as art," something which at its best may, like the novel, "inform and lead into new places the flow of our sympathetic consciousness." It is this which Walworth Comprehensive School has in mind in stating that "self expression and response to literature are both part of the same experience - an experience which we can label, rather inadequately, 'Learning to Live.'" Thus the more thoughtful theorists currently devote much time to considering the kinds of talk in which young people need to become engaged. E. Glyn Lewis, Senior Research Fellow, University of Wales, Swansea, and until recently Inspector of English, puts it this way:

> In Britain English is seen as a process - a process of discovery, of self expression, of creative response - the phrase may change; the meaning is the same. It is one of the last vestiges in aesthetics as applied to teaching, a combination of psychological therapy, whether Kleinian...or Freudian with Bergsonian vitalism, mediated through D. H. Lawrence. Perhaps the dilemma has been best expressed by Martin Buber.

> On the one hand, he points out, "what is important is that by one's own intensively experienced action something arises that was not there before. A good expression of this instinct is the way children of intellectual passion produce speech, in reality not as something they have taken over, but with the headlong powers of utter newness." [56]

By no means all secondary teachers of English accept such views; indeed an articulated rationale underlying the stress on classroom talk and speech activity is far less in evidence than are theories of drama or of literary response. Perhaps because the essential purposes of this type of oral experience are not fully understood, practice varies widely. But a theory is evolving to give strength and direction to the movement. The goals outlined in the following syllabus are typical:

> Program in Speech
>
> General: Oral work must be regarded from the first as the core of much of what we are doing in the English lesson. Apart from the fact that the child who can speak well and fluently will also generally write well, we must remember that oral communication is going to be the main form of communication for most of our pupils when they leave school. Adequacy in this respect, therefore, is a prima facie necessity for the living of a full life in the outside world and plenty of time must accordingly be allowed in the course for oral expression of all kinds.
>
> Aims: 1. We are emphatically not concerned with traditional concepts of speech training and learning to speak properly by middle-class received standard premises. We are concerned that our pupils should make the most of their natural manner of speech and that this should be fluent, meaningful, and euphonious;

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[56] E. Glyn Lewis, "Postscript to Dartmouth or Poles Apart," (mimeographed essay, 1967. A report to the British Ministry of Education on the 1966 Anglo-American Seminar at Dartmouth College).

> 2. The ability to attain adequate command of the spoken language for both formal and informal purposes is the major aim; with this goes confidence in oneself as a speaker, and a sense of suiting the language to the occasion of a social context.
>
> Churchfields Comprehensive School

Classroom Method

Rejection of formal training and emphasis on spontaneity gives rise in the classroom to loose, undirected, casual conversations which, to Americans, often seemed to lack clear educational purpose. "It seemed little more than a bull session," reported one observer. Said another: "Students are better off in the playground than wasting time on such chatter." Teacher-directed, tightly organized classroom discussions are a rarity except in the sixth form, where demands to use speech to better understand the nature of set literary texts results in practice not unlike those seen in better American schools. More typical is the aimless student-stimulated talk which may begin with an observation related to a poem but ranges superficially through an entire cluster of social, political, moral, ethical, or philosophical concerns. Only occasionally do teachers guide the flow of thought; less often do they direct it. Throughout the visits it was clear that teachers spend little time in planning where they wish the class to go or what they wish the class to learn; rather they are concerned with eliciting student reaction and trusting the processes of interaction to provide an educational experience.

"Discussions of experience in the classroom may at times seem something of a babel, with not very much generalising, not very much disagreement, a good deal of restricted code speech," writes J. N. Britton. And with this statement most American observers would agree. But what observers did not sense was Britton's justification for such activity:

> ...It is in such discussions that children exchange experiences and in doing so with the incentive of sharing them they interpret and give shape to those experiences and help each other to shape them. In discussion another important kind of verification is going on; not the verification of knowing the right word for the right thing, but another kind, much more difficult. A great deal of our low level thinking coming out into words in discussion is cleared away and the essential central points are verified. This can be seen in any discussion of an abstract concept by adults; almost the only way of seeing that they are using words that mean the same thing is to test them against the ideas and concepts of the other members of the group.[57]

As British teachers develop a more basic understanding of what they are presently undertaking, these informal discussion periods may be colored by a greater sense of purpose. As it is, too many lack closure, direction, or planning--an objection is raised by observers, pupils, and teachers alike--and time passed in the classroom is not easily distinguishable from time out of school.

Organizing a program of oral experience to accomplish the purposes envisaged by Britton, Wilkinson, and others, requires not only a classroom setting conducive to free discussion, but also varied, directed opportunities for talk. "We want to enable children to establish relations; not only the kind of grouping they are habitually in in the playground and at home and in the classroom, but gradually to enable them to maintain relations with increasing kinds of groups."[58] The emergence of the comprehensive school and the breakdown of the tripartite organization of British secondary education[59] has helped to bring young people together in such situations, but the long tradition of academic streaming still restricts contact within individual schools. To provide children from all social groups with opportunities to talk to one another (and thus to achieve the goals envisioned by the leading theorists) requires new patterns of class organization only just beginning to be discussed in British educational circles. Although project observers found many individuals aware of what needs to be done, they found few schools consciously attempting to break traditional patterns of streaming, fewer still doing so in English for the purpose of speech education.

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[57] J. N. Britton, op cit., p. 23.

[58] Ibid, p. 22.

Yet if practice lags substantially behind theory, some notable accomplishments can be reported. Teachers of English do accept the importance of informal oral experiences in English; most promote pupil interaction; many are experimenting with small group discussion; a few rely on paired groupings of pupils for particular assignments.

Asked about the methods of teaching English (not the methods merely of teaching speech), teachers in the United Kingdom reveal strong support for oral language activities. Socratic questioning (rarely reported by observers in either British or American classes), planned discussion, talk, group work,--these figure prominently in what they think they do (Table 27).

As had happened during the American study, however, classroom observation indicated a considerable gap between these goals and actual

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[59] See discussion in Chapter II.

Table 27

Methods Most Often Used in Classroom Teaching as Indicated by Teachers

(n = 143)

Rank	Method	Percentage of Teachers Reporting
1	Socratic Method	25.8
2	Discussion (planned)	23.8
3	Talk	21.7
4	Small Group Work	6.3
5	Lecture	5.7
6	Drama, Improvisation	4.9
7	Individual Silent Work	4.2
8	Recitation	1.4
9	Pupil Presentation	1.4
10	Team Teaching	1.0
11	Audio-Visual Aids	1.0
12	Other	2.8
		100.0

practice. Nonetheless the data reveal a somewhat greater emphasis on student presentation in Britain than in American (18.2 versus 14.3 percent of class time), much more use of drama (13.2 versus 6.8 percent), and slightly less emphasis on lectures by the teacher (18.8 versus 21.1 percent). Observers reported less class discussion than in American schools (15.2 versus 19.5 percent), but many may not have included "classroom talk" as organized "discussion." [60]

Speech Activities

Reports from observers, if they tend not to support the emphasis which British teachers believe they give to the various activities, are studded with descriptions of vital, imaginative speech activities. Andrew Wilkinson, one of the leading proponents of speech education in the schools sees such experiences falling into four broad categories: spontaneous speech, interpretation, listening, and focal points.[61] This offers a convenient way of reporting illustrative examples.

Spontaneous Speech

Spontaneous speech as seen by Wilkinson involves five different kinds of activities: discussion, composition, panels, role playing, and brief encounters. Role playing (improvised drama) is fully described in Chapter IX and "brief encounters," those momentary exchanges between students and teachers which occur without advance planning as opportunities arise, scarcely need description. Some elaboration of the remaining situations will suggest the range of activities.

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[60] For the basic data on classroom methods observed, see Table 6, Chapter III.

[61] Andrew Wilkinson and others, Spoken English. (Edgbaston, Birmingham 15: University of Birmingham, 1965).

The opportunities for informal discussion range from those provided for an entire class to those offered for small groups and teams of pupils. Not atypical was the report on one comprehensive school:

> Miss M. was having students work in groups on the preparation of a newspaper with each group handling a different part. I was surprised when she gave students permission to leave the building to find good spots for taking pictures and to travel several miles away to get an interview.

Or again:

> Many of the teachers were doing an effective job of setting up interesting group situations to encourage pupils to speak, plan, and work together. In most classrooms the desks were arranged in clusters with four children facing each other. This arrangement fostered the group idea. In these group situations the children were given a lot of responsibility for carrying out the work on their own with a minimum of teacher interference.

Few if any schools ignore spontaneous speech; one values it so highly that the department chairman regularly requires teachers to schedule pupils for "structured conversations" with the teacher, biweekly ten-minute conversations which, given the fixed requirement and the lack of any compelling need for either pupil or teacher to converse with one another, result in a curious inversion of the emphasis on spontaneity.

Discussions of literary works are normally initiated by the teacher. In the upper forms, discussion is neither spontaneous nor free, focussed as it is on developing maximum understanding of the texts on which students will be tested. Because teachers and students lack prior experience with disciplined, inductive discussion of literary texts, such sessions rarely generate the intellectual excitement of, say, a teacher-led discussion of a text in one of the better advanced placement classes in American schools.[62] Even though the form V and VI classes are small, teachers seem obliged to "tell" their charges much and the pacing of class activities is frequently "labored," "deadly," or "slow"; indeed, observers as a whole were disappointed that the free discussion of earlier years is not carried into the upper levels.

Freedom from conventional taboos also characterizes much of the talk. To Americans accustomed to the euphemistic treatment of sex in even our better classrooms, the directness of British youngsters was refreshing. No sly comments, furtive glances, hidden snickering, or teacher embarrassment colored any discussion. Rather the pupils spoke directly and to the point, with little attempt at concealment. The report from a fourth form teacher seems typical:

> The most successful work done recently was with a fourth year class...[concerned with] sex and morality. I planned the work after taking a group to see the film "The Family Way" concerning the sex problems of a young married couple.
>
> We studied extracts from Sons and Lovers (the relationship between Paul and Miriam); the marriage service; a report on the sexual behavior of young people. After lots of talk about morality in our society and the breaking away from standard morality today, the class wrote argumentative pieces. Shortly afterwards I read an extract from A Kind of Loving which the class continued reading on their own.

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[62] Readers interested in a model of the American view on directed discussion should consult "The Inductive Teaching of English" by Erwin Steinberg and others, The English Journal, LV (February 1966); 139-157.

> The activity was successful because talking and writing about sexual behavior fulfilled an almost explicitly stated need of the children to talk about their own ideas on something which seemed much more important to them than English.

It would be inaccurate to give the impression that all teachers were non-directive, all discussion spontaneous and student centered. Thomas Wilcox reported one class which, if not typical of what was seen, at least demonstrates that not all control has been abandoned to students:

> Leonard Dean, J. N. Hook, and I attended a class at a grammar school in which a very energetic, highly articulate young instructor...engaged a group of twelve-year-old boys in a really lively and effective discussion of poetry. He did this by reading aloud, dramatically and well, a portion of Masefield's poem about fox-hunting, then cajoling the students to amplify the text with information and imaginative matter of their own. All this was done extemporaneously, without paying any attention to such purely literary considerations as metrics or the history of the ballad. At the end several students asked, "Where can we get the rest of the poem?" It seemed to us that this young man was teaching poetry about as well as it could be taught at this level. And perhaps he could not have done so had he abandoned some of the conventional approaches to his subject.

Oral composition, "lecturettes" (Americans call them oral reports), oral descriptions--these too occur in British classrooms, although not so frequently as Wilkinson's book would suggest. The teacher in one comprehensive school reported success with the game of "Alibi." Two pupils leave the room for five minutes to plan a joint "alibi" for a specific time at which a crime has allegedly been committed. They return to the classroom separately and are questioned by the rest of the class, who try to catch discrepancies in the two stories. The teacher noted that the game "depends on close attentiveness" and that pupils devise very ingenious questions to catch the criminal. The introduction of such a play situation with serious educational intent is typical of approaches in the lower forms.

Panel discussions, less frequent than in American classrooms, form the final dimension of Wilkinson's spontaneous speech. Rather than the prepared sets of brief related reports, common in the United States, these usually take the form of a round table discussion of a topic such as the problems of old people. Almost any topic will do, but in view of the broad program in home reading, it was disappointing to find few organized around literature. Those that were observed seemed somewhat more common in Scotland than in England, a discovery not unrelated to the somewhat greater emphasis on the literary tradition above the border. One brilliant discussion of the writings of John Steinbeck by third form boys was observed in Edinburgh, although the American observer required a full ten minutes to discover that the "ookies" of the lowland dialect were the Okies of Steinbeck's great novel.

Still, considering the emphasis on oral activity, panels are used neither widely nor well. Formal debates--unmentioned by Wilkinson and perhaps symbolic of formalist training of the past--are much more in common; they typically center on controversial social and political problems:

> Resolved, that comprehensive schools provide a more complete education than selective schools
>
> Resolved, that society discriminates the rights of women.
>
> Resolved, that the use of nuclear bombs should be outlawed.

Few discussions reveal much advance planning; fewer still result in any opportunity for evaluation. Teachers are loath to interrupt the pupil discourse with lessons on logic and argumentation. Thus debating, too, becomes little more than a classroom game. Inevitably, the class votes on the winning team; inevitably no one raises questions about ways of improving preparation or argument. British teachers who rely heavily on such debates are getting precious little educational mileage from them. Without some instruction in how to reason logically, how to support generalization by fact, young people repeat the same errors, and however enjoyable the many debates that observers attended, most were at best models of how not to reason together.

Interpretation

According to Wilkinson, the program in interpretive speech should involve story telling, reading aloud, poetry and drama, and improvisation. At all levels of secondary education, such activities were important. The detailed impressions of American observers are reported in Chapters III and V. J. N. Hook summarizes what was apparent to all observers:

> Sometimes the children also read aloud, especially when the selection is a play, where unprepared role-reading is common. This method of treating literary works is, of course, part of the strong emphasis on "oracy":[63] literature is something to be heard, not just seen on the page.

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[63] "Oracy" is a term coined by Wilkinson to liken speaking and listening to literacy and numeracy. Despite occasional references by Wilkinson and his followers, "oracy" is not yet a part of the standard lexicon of British teachers. Indeed, resistance to the unlovely word seems as strong among the British as among the Americans.

> Oracy also involves other kinds of work, or play. Miming and improvisation go on day after day in classes in the first four years. Typically the teacher provides a starter, which may be a literary selection, a newspaper clipping, a picture, a piece of music, or a student's composition. Then the children work in groups to decide what story they are going to act out, and they present their performance before the class, improvising as they go. The children are usually completely involved in this activity; they like it and seem never to become bored. Perhaps one reason is that it enables them to move around instead of sitting quietly on hard seats in the invariably cold classrooms.
>
> As another but minor part of oracy, children often read aloud their compositions, which are commented on by their classmates. In a few classrooms there are planned oral expositions as well.

Major mythic themes are often introduced orally. Thus, it is not unusual to find children miming or listening to plots from Shakespearean drama long before reading the plays. The teachers who introduce such experiences (for a successful program at the Perse School see the description in Chapter IX) regard the basic plots of Shakespeare as archetypal in character, almost in a Fryean sense (although not one seems to have read _The Anatomy of Criticism_). One of the most elaborate illustrations was the treatment of Beowulf in a London comprehensive school, regarded by the reporting teacher as his "most successful" single teaching experience.

"Myths shouldn't be read," he reported. "Telling gives real contact with the audience and the story can be told with more immediacy so that the teacher can judge the response." Thus he tells students in forms I and II (all levels of ability) the story of Beowulf in three parts: an explanation of the setting and of Beowulf's childhood ending in the minstrel bringing news of Grendel; the conquest of Grendel and his mother; Beowulf as king and his death in battle with the dragon. Talk about Beowulf as archetypal hero, discussion, and writing about heroic deeds, real and imaginary, are part of the plan.

Improvised dramatization of selected incidents in the myth form the next phase of the study. Separate groups enact successively the following episodes:

1) Banquet and minstrel's story
2) Choosing of warriors and journey over the sea
3) Banquet in Hootgars Hall and the attack of Grendel
4) Descent into the meer, swimming monsters and the monstrous snakes
5) Beowulf as a great and wise king dispensing laws
6) The fight with the dragon as Beowulf sacrifices himself for his people.

The walls by this time "are usually festooned with enormous paintings of Grendel or other monsters." The interpretive activity flows into writing; in one class each child wrote and illustrated a book about his imaginary hero. More sophisticated students sometimes talk about Arthur, Theseus, and modern archetypal heroes. The integration of literature, interpretation, and writing is complete; the teacher feels the approach not only breaks down stereotyped conceptions of myth as babyish but "opens up a whole world of vital experience--the great moral problems of love, hate, death, bravery, honor, violence, etc., permitting the children to create their own mythical stories out of their own ideas of reality."

Story telling by the children themselves is also used to provide important interpretive activities in British schools. The syllabus for St. Pius' School in Glasgow, for example, contains the following suggestions:

Story Telling

Story telling can probably be divided into two main types - (1) stories arising from, and using material based in the writer's own life and environment, (2) fantasies. Both should be practised by children but it seems likely that the fantasy will be more suitable for younger children and type (1) for older. There is, of course, a considerable overlap between the two - type (1), at its extreme, being simply reportage of experience (covered in other approaches) and type (2), at its extreme, being the magical fairy story with stereotypes as characters.

To take Type (1) first

Type (1) might be subdivided as follows:

(a) Stories with critical events or moods which could be regarded as normal everyday occurrences.

(b) Stories with critical events which could be thought of as possible but not normal occurrences.

(c) Stories with critical events which are unusual or even unlikely, but perfectly possible.

Type 1 (a)

Further subdivision might produce the following:

(i) Events, etc., connected with relations.
(ii) " " " " friends.
(iii) " " " " enemies.
(iv) " " " " the district.
(v) " " " " school.
(vi) " " " " private interests.
(vii) " " " " animals.
(viii) " " " " public institutions & the adult world.

Type 1 (a) (i)

(ix) You are forced, against your inclinations, to help your father (or mother) to decorate a room, or lay linoleum, etc. Tell the story of how you managed to get yourself dismissed as an assistant.

Type 1 (a) (ii)

(v) Your best friend leaves the neighborhood. Tell the story of how you meet again accidentally, and how you have both changed in the meantime.

(x) Your best friend turns against you because of some imagined misdeed on your part. Tell the story of the incident and of how you re-establish the friendship.

Type 1 (a) (iii)

(i) You discover that a classmate is spreading stories about your supposed faults and misdeeds. Tell the story of how you deal with the situation.

(v) A new boy/girl comes to live next door and immediately seeks to make an enemy of you. Tell the story of his/her activities and how you finally see that he/she is more to be pitied than hated.

Type 1 (a) (iv) Events connected with the home district

(iii) You and some friends decide to organize a Volunteer Corps to help old people in your district. Tell the story of your success OR of your failure.

(vi) The local jenny a'thing shop has to close because of competition from a supermarket. Tell a story about the situation which ends up happily for the shopkeeper.

(ix) The outer wall of a nearby house collapses during the night. You and your family are involved in the rescue work. Tell the story of your attempts to rescue the marooned people.

St. Pius' School, Glasgow

Here again the concentration on speech situations gives rise to oral interpretation.

Other kinds of interpretive activity abound. "Reading aloud, a vanishing social art, can well be given more attention." "Dramatic work with its possibilities for 'bring literature to life' is a popular and useful method of giving confidence and exciting interest." So adjure the printed syllabi. Even memorizing has its place (although no observer reported such activity); says one syllabus: "Preferably boys memorize passages chosen by themselves; a general atmosphere of intelligent and sensitive receptivity is cultivated for the 'recitation'. No boy is allowed to 'murder' a piece of literature."

Listening

In the assumption that children will learn to listen as they become engaged in classroom work, the practice of teachers in the United Kingdom is not unlike that prevailing in the United States. In only one school did observers find separate exercises used to cultivate listening. (The program in this school--a comprehensive Scottish school--reflected current thinking in England, emphasized listening, interpretation, conversation, improvised drama, and so on, but each activity was tightly organized into separate periods on a rigid two week schedule that resembled nothing so much as the modular curricula introduced by American proponents of "flexible" scheduling. It was in this school that pupils were regularly scheduled for conversations with teachers; and it was in this school also that periodic exercises and drills in listening were introduced.)

But students do have to listen--to classmates in conversation or improvised drama, to teachers reading aloud. Recorded dramas--on commercial records or tape recorders--are most frequently talked about than seen, perhaps because of equipment shortages. Still, studio recordings loom large on the list of teaching aids most requested by British teachers. A series of programs by the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) designed especially for the schools is more widely advertized than used. Public discussion of contemporary issues, interviews with authors, first rate productions of important plays like The Master Builder or Volpone, poetry readings and discussions involving major contemporary artists--an exciting array of programs is depicted on many faculty bulletin boards. The BBC, too, prepares program guides and advance information on many of these offerings. In view of the excellence of the programming, observers were sad to report little evidence of its use in the schools. Most teachers knew about the opportunities; many recalled moments in the past when they had made good use of BBC. A few monitored BBC programs and taped selected portions for future use. But in only one school (and with only one teacher) was any regular opportunity provided to use such broadcasts with pupils. The problem is the familiar one which has plagued American educational broadcasting: the incompatibility of school programming and broadcast programming. In the one instance where BBC broadcasts were used, the entire time table of a class had to be rearranged to permit students to study English during the afternoon interval when the desired series of programs was scheduled.

Nor is television used to great advantage in teaching. A few classrooms, especially in some of the more modern buildings (a majority in Scotland) are equipped with television receivers, but these are rarely used. Teachers and students talk much about television in class discussion, report informally on programs seen at home, concern themselves with a current debate on state-supported versus commercial television as it exists (or as they think it exists) in America. But rarely do they look at programs. Kinescopes of many programs seem more difficult to obtain than films, and it is fair to say that the typical British teacher interested in using modern media in the classroom would rather provide a good film to generate classroom excitement than a kinescope of an educational broadcast.

Thus the programs in listening, to American observers, seemed not unlike those in American schools--a skill much talked about, frequently practiced, and seldom receiving separate attention.

Focal Points for Oral Language Activities

Certain projects or school activities bring all student resources in speaking and listening into play; these are Wilkinson's "focal points" in programs in speech. Such focal points vary from school to school. Puppetry grasps the imagination of some lower form teachers; tape recording radio skits excite others. Poetry and musical evenings with pupils as performers are frequently mentioned. Often such "festivals" feature the display and reading of original composition.

But like their American colleagues, most British teachers of English prefer to go it alone. Except for the long-established school play or English festival, specific projects involving student speech are usually organized within the classroom or the department of English itself. British teachers do seem more aware than Americans of the potential contributions of speech activities in other courses, just as they are more aware of the potential in their own. But most organized units reported by American observers were planned within the framework of an English class.

Not atypical were the "War Games" conducted in one form III class. The students divided into two groups, each representing a fictitious country involved in a political dispute over railroads and exports. The young people engaged in verbal war, electing presidents and cabinet officials and attempting through political argument and military strategy to resolve the political crisis. The teacher used this classroom game to motivate the reading of poetry, short stories, and essays on war and political activities. He referred students to the library for study of historical antecedents. Said the American observer: "I found this to be exceptionally interesting as the class was almost totally involved. I am sure that even if the countries go to war (as they nearly did when I observed), the kids will gain a great deal from the activity."

Quite different focal points for speech are planned for the upper forms. Out-of-school seminars particularly impressed American observers. In such instances, English chairmen organize weekend conferences for thirty or forty form VI pupils, retreat to a relatively isolated conference center nearby (many "great houses" in Britain are now open and available for such purpose), invite outside specialists to participate as consultants, and engage in discussion and study from Friday evening through Sunday afternoon. One such conference was devoted entirely to Chaucer, with the outside specialist a professor from a university. Another concerned itself with the changing pattern of life in rural England. After preliminary study, reading, and conversation, the boys spent much of Saturday investigating changes in local communities by interviewing residents, inspecting local business, and observing local museums and public records. Their impressions were shared together in the final Sunday session. Much more than oral experience is involved in such seminars, but such opportunity to discuss ideas in depth is rarely provided American students.

Although Wilkinson does see opportunities in forensic societies and poetry reading contests, few observers reported competitive activities of this kind. Indeed, British teachers seem less interested in interscholastic (or intrascholastic) competition than are their American counterparts. The focal activities are more likely to be related to continuing classroom problems. They are the times, as

Wilkinson observes, when speech activities "come together for some particular purpose; and the knowledge that there is to be some end product is a spur to interest and motivation."[64]

Improving Usage and Pronunciation

Teachers in England, Scotland, and Wales in the schools visited by the American team militantly oppose direct instruction or drill on oral usage, pronunciation, articulation, or voice. Just as most believe that undue correction of student writing interfers with personal expression (Chapter VI), so they see the "formal speech training approach" as inimical to the free flow of conversation they are cultivating so carefully. Directives in printed syllabi are explicit:

> ...there is a danger which arises from a vestigial tradition of 'speech and drama' in which the use of the spoken language is closely association with what used to be called 'elocution'.
>
> (Thomas Bennett School)

> Care must be taken not to introduce the idea of speech training at all consciously. In unskilled hands this can do great damage for psychological reasons.
>
> (Churchfields Comprehensive)

Andrew Wilkinson says flatly, "Speech training, as the term is usually understood, is not suitable for use in schools."[65] He argues that most traditional exercises are unrelated to specific speech situations ("the case has some parallels with that of grammatical exercises unrelated to written composition"), that traditional training has an overriding concern with accent:

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[64] Andrew Wilkinson, op. cit., p. 70.

[65] Ibid, p. 62.

> One studies frightening anatomical diagrams of the mouth and lip positions; one may be required to acquire the phonetic alphabet. The assumption that there is a "correct" accent, and the vocabulary used to describe any variations from this accent is tendentious in the highest degree--thus we hear of "ugly" sounds (as though all beauty were enshrined on earth in the BBC); we hear of "slovenly" and "lazy" pronunciations (as though all moral virtue were similarly enshrined)...If one is to make judgements like this one must be clear that one is doing so entirely on social and not on scientific grounds.[66]

Incompatibility with their conception of how language is learned is only one explanation for this rejection of corrective oral exercises, egalitarian social views held by the vast majority of British teachers quite another. Wilkinson's final statement explains the aggressive militancy with which most British teachers turn away American inquiries. As the earlier discussion of the current social scene in Chapter II suggested, the revolution in the teaching of English in Britain is interwoven with the social revolution in British society. Concern with "standard English," "correct accent," or educating a nation of Eliza Doolittles to pass in the tearooms of yesteryear are relics of a bygone age. "Whatever you do, don't meddle with their accent," says a phonetician at the University of Edinburgh. Inasmuch as there is a greater variety of dialects in Yorkshire alone than in the entire United States, the task facing British teachers is very great indeed. To untutored American ears, the varieties of dialect heard in many classrooms seem more a barrier than a bridge to communication, but the British insist that one function of the school is to help young people learn to listen to and comprehend a variety of English dialects.[67] Conscious effort to "improve" dialect patterns, they feel, can only result in a breakdown of the communication setting. Even in the independent schools, the concept of a "public school English" is passing; indeed, it is often an object for scorn and derision. (A few teachers with long experience recall when conditions were otherwise.) One class considered the "public school language" spoken by soldiers in "Journey's End," Robert Sheriff's play about World War I, to be a major flaw. To Americans accustomed to inner city schools which see "bidialectalism" as a major educational goal ("so that none of our children will be prevented from climbing the social or economic ladder because of the inadequacy of their language"), such a free attitude toward language came as a surprise. Yet the differences in British and American views seem related to differences in the surrounding culture. America has historically been a far more open society than that of our British friends. Distinctions between social classes have been far less clearcut and, despite recent accelerated social change, this difference between the two cultures continues. Traditional Calvinistic pressure to "become" rather than to "be" has led American parents and American schools to a fiercely held commitment that no child should be prevented from fulfilling his social, economic, and intellectual potential because of his education.

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[66] Wilkinson, loc. cit.

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[67] In West Bromwich, one American professor of English was stunned by the public production of Brecht's The Caucasian Chalk Circle in a dialect so broad that he could grasp few words even though he had rather complete prior knowledge of the play. Yet he observed that no other member of the audience seemed the least bit sensitive to the problem.

In American society where such informal markers of class distinction as one's use of language have become of oppressive importance in indicating one's class affiliation, conformity to group standards in usage and pronunciation has taken on a social significance because it indicates that one is free to climb the social and economic ladder. No pressures for speaking "good English" are stronger than those from upwardly mobile middle class citizens of our suburban communities. And at another cultural locus, witness the concern in our inner city programs with improving or changing deviant dialect patterns. Well before entering school, most of our children are made conscious of a standard of language which they must learn to speak.

In England conditions seem quite different. Faced with a far greater range of English dialects than we hear in the United States, British teachers can be far more accepting of language. Within broad limits, and here one must to some extent except the "public school" dialect of the aristocracy, language is regarded as seeming to offer no absolute determiner of class or social distinction. One can speak a variety of Yorkshire or Scottish and be accepted for what he is saying. Not even a cockney dialect will disqualify one from employment as a telephone operator or a department store clerk. The close association of dialect and social class so prevalent in America seems not to be a major cultural factor in Britain, and thus there are fewer pressures to speak a "standard dialect." Quite possibly past British acceptance of geographically-dispersed dialects has prepared for acceptance of social dialects today, but it is interesting that similar acceptance is so much less marked in America.

Yet the battle is far from completely won. Some nagging doubts continue to bother British teachers who recall their own difficult experiences in mastering an acceptable schoolroom English. In Fortrose, one charming, articulate Scot said his own highland accent was so broad that when he entered the training college in Dundee his "elocution teacher just sat right down and cried." And if teachers of English are leaving the children's language alone, they are at least wary of the problem. The syllabus of one celebrated grammar school contains the following admonition:

> Oral Work
>
> Compared with boys of equal ability in other schools, our pupils do not speak well. This is partly a matter of tradition to be established; we must work steadily to have it accepted by the boys themselves that an informal mumble when addressing the rest of the class is simply a form of incompetence. The old Yorkshire tradition that if you aren't rude you can't be honest makes many boys wary of speaking well. Every English master has to grasp the nettle of dialect. I think that many Oxbridge candidates have to go through the agonizing choice of either modifying their accents or staying self-consciously Yorkshire and proud of it; we have done our part if we insist on standards of coherence and syntax and use the tape recorder regularly and sensibly.
>
> King Edward School

But many English teachers and most teacher education specialists agree that dialect is extended and learned by actual use. Through the continuing processes of listening and speaking, through informal talk both in and out of the classroom, young people will acquire fluency, confidence, and control over their own linguistic processes. "Oracy comes from practice in specific situations, whether these occur naturally in the classroom, or elsewhere, or are created as a specific teaching device; it is helped by unconscious imitation, it is stimulated by the responses of others, and speech becomes clearer in the necessity for communication. The main job of the teacher is to provide situations which call forth increasing powers of utterance."[68]

Examining Oral English

Given the stress now placed on oral language in British classrooms, the development of proficiency examinations in speech paralleling the external examinations in literature and written composition is inevitable. At present, oral English seems more likely to be incorporated in the fifth year examinations for the Certificate of Secondary Education (a program designed primarily for non-college-bound youth), than for the General Certificate of Education. Yet the development of manageable tests for the CSE will almost surely lead to other applications.

In assessing oral English, the British face the problem which has long plagued American educators: how to test on a large group basis those abilities which can only be seen through individual performance. In 1966, the British Schools Council published a special bulletin on trial examinations in oral English.[69] Five possible approaches were recommended for experimentation: reading aloud, prepared talk, private conversation about a visual stimulus, group discussion, and assessment by tape. The problems of evaluating each kind of speech behavior were reported in detail, along with the observation that Method 2 (prepared talk) seemed to "correlate most highly with the teachers' assessment of students" and was the approach for which external examiners had expressed the most enthusiasm. Method 3 (conversation about visual stimulus) was "not far behind," while Method 4 (group discussion) measures ability "unrevealed in the normal classroom situation."

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[68] Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[69] The Schools Council, *The Certificate of Secondary Education: Trial Examinations--Oral English*. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1966).

One obvious result of the Schools Council publication was to encourage experimental examinations. Most of the secondary and comprehensive schools, schools most likely to be preparing students for CSE, were discussing the possibilities during the weeks when American observers were in England. Scottish education authorities were also interested, and some teachers in Scotland had participated in trial examinations. Two schools in England reported that assessment of oral English was already part of the external examination program. Some indication of how such programs may be developing is suggested in the following syllabus description:

> A test in oral English is now a compulsory part of the CSE 5th year examination which expects candidates to be able to read aloud a poem or prose extract clearly and effectively after 10 minutes' preparation and to carry on a coherent conversation with the examiner.
> Oral work (not self-conscious elocution) should be a natural and integral part of English teaching at all levels. Children should be able to give an effective reading of their own work, to answer questions where appropriate with more than a phrase, to give short talks, to take part in discussions, to prepare plays and effective reading of plays and poetry and to tell unscripted stories and anecdotes.
> Both reading and writing are marginal skills compared with the child's capacity to formulate his experience directly in language. Our job is

> to foster this capacity and bring it into real relation with the (secondary) mechanics of writing. Half the problems of lower stream teaching are due to the gulf we have to bridge between the child's natural spoken language and what he thinks conventional written English is.
>
> Thomas Bennett School

If, as is often said, we measure those educational achievements which we value most highly, then it seems inevitable that some form of external assessment of oral language will become a regular requirement in British education. The concern of British teachers with speech education will someday be reflected in the ways in which their graduating students are judged. At a time, however, when the learning theory underlying classroom speech behavior is less well understood by teachers than is the frantic demand for oral language experience, it seems likely that present efforts to develop reliable and efficient methods of assessment will end in confusion and disappointment.

Implications for American Schools

Although the quality and direction of British efforts in speech education vary considerably, there is much in the British experience which deserves consideration by American educators. When formulated clearly and incisively,[70] the conception of a dynamic interplay of speaking, writing, and personal thought as a basis for language learning (itself conceived as a developing ability to perceive and express relationships), may have much to contribute to Americans conditioned only to prepared oral presentations or carefully disciplined, teacher-led discussions.

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[70] See John Dixon's book on the Dartmouth Seminar, Growth through English. (Reading, England: NATE, 1967) Available in U.S.A. from NCTE.

A country increasingly concerned about the education of disadvantaged youth needs also to study British views of the importance of social and regional dialects to education. Do our widespread attempts to segregate children into special ability groups limit too greatly the opportunites for the able and the less able to learn to communicate with one another? During the past decade, American educators have been conspicuously successful in moving toward integrated schools, yet at the same time have devoted little thought to the segregation which can exist within these institutions. Ten years of rigid ability grouping (and it is the observation of the project directors that such rigidity begins with the "Bluebird" and "Blackbird" reading groups of the kindergarten and primary grades) may result in more effective, discipline-oriented learning, while at the same time producing a cleavage in the student body which makes effective communication impossible. The inevitable consequence of such tracking may be disorder in the schools. As this is written, uniformed policemen patrol the halls of suburban high schools outside of Chicago. The chaotic schism between student groups which necessitates imposition of such external force is surely a consequence of division and disorder resulting from a breakdown of personal and societal relationships. Heterogeneous grouping alone will never solve the complex social problems affecting schools in this country--particularly the undirected, unplanned heterogeneous grouping characteristic of

American education a decade or two ago.[71] But ten years of planned, directed social groupings, designed to facilitate communication between students from various dialect groups, could do much to promote tolerance and understanding.

The concern of British educators lest direct interference with the speech and writing of young people block normal growth in language is another area which needs to be considered carefully, especially by teachers for whom pattern practice and repetitive drill in a textbook variety of English have become the be-all and end-all of language education. In the context of American society, however, it is not likely that the teacher of English can ignore his obligation to extend the linguistic repertoire of his pupils. The school, after all, is a social institution, and in America the acquisition of linguistic behavior appropriate to each social class is rather universally regarded as both a necessity and an obligation. Until social attitudes toward nonstandard dialects change, few teachers can ignore the pressures to teach varieties of language which will enable young people to succeed in American life. But they can recognize equally an obligation to help all young people understand dialects other than their own, to teach the facts about language and social behavior, and to remember that nonstandard dialect represents neither ignorant nor "slovenly" speech but rather results from environmental influences affecting each individual. Above all, they may find in procedures being tested in Britain new ways of teaching effective oral communication.[72]

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[71] In their report on the National Study of High School English Programs, the Directors of this project commended the teaching of English in most honors or advanced placement classes in this country, believed that the quality of programs for more able students represented a considerable strength, worried that the time, thought, and effort expended on teaching able youth seemed not to be devoted equally to the teaching of average and slower students. Two years of continued social revolution in this country, coupled with the insights gained from the Dartmouth Seminar and the study of schools in Britain, have now convinced us that existing patterns of grouping in both elementary and secondary schools represent a barrier to firstrate education for all American youth. For the first ten grades of education, at least, we urge careful consideration be given to new patterns of grouping for language learning, patterns which will make possible intergroup communication but which will also permit able and less able students to receive the specialized help that they need. Probably the breakdown of the traditional "classroom concept" will assist in developing new patterns of pupil organization. With reasonable intergroup relations established during the first ten years, we believe programs beyond grade 10 can be specialized and oriented toward each student's future goals. Thus, honors classes and advanced placement classes seem entirely appropriate at this level.

Finally, the emphasis in England on speech situations, classroom conversation, interpretive speech, and other oral activity, as well as the acceptance of spoken English as basic to success in all other aspects of English, reveals a startling deemphasis on oral activity in today's American secondary programs. The planning of speech activity for its own sake without clear recognition of education purpose may have led some British teachers astray, but Americans have neglected to provide even minimally adequate programs. An examination of what the British are doing in speech education reveals the poverty of such education in even our better schools.

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[72] An interesting experiment in changing dialect behavior through planned conversations between students from middle and lower class homes is being conducted at Harvard Graduate School of Education by Wayne O'Neil, James Moffett, John Mellon, and others. In its emphasis placed upon the use of spontaneous speech in informal settings, the approach resembles closely practices now being advocated in Britain.

CHAPTER IX

DRAMA IN THE ENGLISH PROGRAM

> Again and again teachers insisted that the claim that drama can contribute to self-discovery, personal and emotional development, and human relationships has been substantiated.
>
> The headmaster insisted that he had no disciplinary problems in the school...and he attributed this to the drama.
>
> They want most to teach...ways of being constructively responsibe to any experience. They want their pupils to have the powers if necessary, to take over an Auschwitz, to beat back a brainwashing or shrug off an end-of-empire malaise. They connect education with finding new sources for national strength and pride. They want their pupils to connect education with finding new sources for personal strength and pride.
>
> I left the class wondering whether I had seen a gym class, a dance class, or a dramatics class. The teacher assured me I had seen an English class.

Throughout England the dimensions of drama in the general English program stand in stunning contrast to the analytical study of a single play which, together with the occasional elective course, is characteristic of American practice. Improvisation, mime, role playing, basic movement, recreation of basic stories--these are essential in many lower forms. But so is reading aloud, acting out, immersing oneself in the experience of a major play, usually without prior study or rehearsal. During the seven weeks, observers saw fifteen and sixteen year old youngsters, near adults, re-creating for their own satisfaction, not for an audience, the

Aberfan coal mining disaster in Wales, the response of the populace after an atomic holocaust, the killing of Claudius, the Prometheus legend, the story of the Prodigal Son, the Canon's Yeoman's Tale, the construction of Noah's Arc, the shipwreck scene from the Tempest, the Beowulf legend, and even the Trial, Crucifixion, and Resurrection. But equally impressive were the classroom enactments of scenes from *Othello*, *Hamiet*, *Henry IV*, *Dr. Faustus*; the schoolwide productions of *King Lear*, *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, and *Murder in the Cathedral*; so too were the student initiated and student produced productions of *Romanoff and Juliet* and *An Evening with Dylan Thomas*.

Instruments designed originally for use in American schools were not able to measure accurately the percentage of class time given to such activities; without a separate category to list it under--for no such category had been necessary in the United States--observers recorded drama as "speech" or in a "miscellaneous" section. At the very least, from 20 to 25 percent of class time in forms I-IV is spent on such activities, almost as much as is given to all other literary studies! (See Chapter III.) Indeed, the syllabi of two of the most conservative of the institutions visited would limit dramatic work to not more than 25 percent of the total English program. The interest in such activities was reflected at the Bristol convention of the British National Association for the Teaching of English in April 1967, where more than a quarter of the teachers attending elected conference programs on some dimension of drama.

To assess the extent to which such activities were becoming important in British schools, Miss Jennie Lee, Minister for the Arts, directed Her Majesty's Inspectors in 1967 to conduct a special survey of its uses in the schools.[73] They found that of 167 local education authorities (separate county school districts), 51 presently have drama advisers. In Inner London, 50 of 300 secondary schools have special drama teachers. In Gloucestershire, drama is an organized part of the English program in 11 of 14 grammar schools, 20 of 21 secondary schools, 3 of 6 comprehensive schools. And so it goes throughout the nation. (In Scotland, however, observers in the present study could detect only faint beginnings of the movement, and it seemed a significant force in only one of three Welsh schools visited.)

Although these activities take many forms, it is the widespread reliance on improvised drama with adolescents that most surprised American observers. Creative or improvised drama is not unknown in the United States, where it has been used, with somewhat decreasing frequency, in children's play at the primary level. A bit of role playing has extended beyond, notably because of the work of George and Fannie Shaftel,[74] and recently a few schools are reporting successful experiences with mime and creative drama with adolescents in the inner city. But in most schools, improvised drama is considered inappropriate for the secondary level. Limited to elective courses where students sometimes are introduced to applications of Stanislovsky or The Method, the benefits of drama can have for the average student have been generally overlooked.

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[73] The report is scheduled for publication late in 1967. The directors of this study have been permitted to examine a draft of the final report. Some of the data in this report is based on the Survey.

[74] George Shaftel and Fannie Shaftel, Role Playing the Social Problem. (New York: Prentice Hall, 1967).

In Britain also, improvised drama had its origin in the infant and primary schools. A decade ago the teachers at these levels freed themselves from restrictive syllabi and began to foster individual expression. Their success led to experimentation in the junior schools and has now continued through the secondary. Says the Survey Report of the Inspectorate: "The educational value of dramatic play does not diminish in the junior schools but its form will change as the children mature...As from the infant to junior, so from the junior to the secondary. The forms of drama change; its validity remains. The range of material becomes wider, its treatment more thorough."

To what educational purpose does drama contribute? One of the most striking of the many successful teachers observed comments on his program:

> The aim of drama in education is not to train actors or producers. The aim of drama and speech is related to the extension of the experience of the individual child, to the part the child will play within his particular social group and to the need for the development of the ability for creative thinking in the human personality.
>
> In a world which is becoming increasingly systematised and categorised, we need to provide our children with opportunities to be essentially themselves. Drama can fulfill this function through improvisation and creative dance--the child can, momentarily, create a private world of his imagination; a world made up of his already assimilated ideas and concepts. The child is thus provided with opportunities for taking stock of these ideas and emotions. He can come to terms with himself.
>
> Through creative drama, too, the child can come to terms with others and with the world in which he lives. He can act out real life situations without the responsibility of the consequences which would develop in the world of reality. The child can thus test out the new experiences of life and, through contact with the best in World drama, assimilate the old. The child is given responsibility but it is a responsibility related to the level of his

> emotional and intellectual maturity. In Drama, too, the child will recognize the need to accept the disciplines of the agreed plot for improvisation; he will need, on occasion, to sacrifice his individual ideas to the good of the play as a whole. In other words, he is coming to terms with social responsibility; accepting discipline--but it is a positive, freedom-forging self discipline.

Many British teachers of English accept this philosophy of drama and try seriously to implement it in their work. Other values are mentioned as well: one school syllabus claims drama "enables a boy to extend his range of voice and sentence-structure beyond his own inventive-capacity or natural ability." A headmaster or two stress its socializing effect on the total school.

Not all teachers have clarified their aims as has the one quoted above, but then few teachers of such distinction are found in any country. There is much fumbling and misuse of time as teachers grope to find appropriate uses for the new approaches. Those with English degrees from Cambridge, Oxford, and the other universities have had to educate themselves, with the help of occasional short courses offered by the ministry and the professional associations. Teachers recently in colleges of education (they don't become graduates until 1968) generally have had some slight preparation for such improvised activity. With such diversity on preparation, a split between the professional drama teacher (often educated in schools of theatre arts) and the teacher of English looms as a potential issue. In most schools drama is taught by the regular English teacher, once or twice a week; in others--a small minority of the institutions visited--pupils spend one or two of their five English hours with a specialist on drama. Both approaches work, and when relations between the teachers are close, the pupils do not suffer. Most regard drama as part of regular English activity, and indeed it is not unusual to find other English classes split between two teachers.

A more serious obstacle, according to American observers, is the separation of improvised drama leading to improvised speech from drama focusing only on basic movement and dance. As interest in improvised drama has developed over the past decade, it has found as many adherents in departments of physical education; still others do little but creative dance. Where teachers are interested primarily in bodily movement and physical activity, the contributions of the program to the pupils' development in English are not too easily seen. Not infrequently, under these circumstances, American observers questioned the kind of class they were visiting. And even with a teacher firmly committed to language development, the processes through which one builds from movement and dance through mime to improvised speech have yet to be fully explored. The Ministry's report clearly sees the fundamental unity toward which the better programs are striving:

> The reasons for the close affinity needed between teachers of drama and English are not based on tradition but on the importance of the word, written and spoken, as a means of clarifying the inner image and establishing exact means of thought and communication in certain areas of experience. This does not preclude the importance of non-verbal forms of expression for clarifying and communicating other experience.

A third problem,more familiar in the United States, is the collision between improvised drama and professional standards in the school, between improvised drama and scripted drama presented to an audience. Peter Slade, who has been influential in informing the schools of the value of classroom drama, asserts that any sense of an audience robs drama of its educational role.[75] For this reason, rarely is drama performed even for class audiences. Teachers are admonished not to permit efforts to be dominated by the few. Says one syllabus: "The tongue-tied boys need the practice more than the talented." Classrooms for drama (usually open halls and gymnasia) are arranged so that all children can be involved; spectators are rarely admitted. When the acting of written scripts begins, some teachers take pains to involve all class members in separate groups. Even the school plays are performed less for an audience than for the satisfaction that young people can achieve through their own participation.

Involvement of all young people in a class requires space, whether the space is used for bodily movement on the floor or for simultaneous enactments by separate groups. Music seems to be an almost universal accompaniment, and some of the more elaborate programs use pools of colored lights to evoke an emotional mood. Costume and properties, seldom used in improvised drama, appear in classroom dramatizations of Shakespearean and other plays. School plays presented to an audience are fully outfitted and produced--often overly produced to provide opportunities for involving every pupil. The tradition in boys' schools that men will play women's roles is gradually disappearing as "mixed" or coeducational institutions become better established, yet observers did see one hilariously husky and buxom six-foot Beatrice almost suffocating her frail, late maturing Benedict.

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[75] Peter Slade, Child Drama (London: University of London Press,1954).

Improvised Drama

Improvised drama almost inevitably begins with basic movement in form I. Discipline is rigidly enforced. After removing their shoes and stretching out on the floor, the children engage in a series of limbering up exercises, such as trying to lift themselves from the floor without creating sharp angles with their bodies. More difficult tasks are then introduced: acting out the effects of age, physical condition, weight.

Mime, becomes the natural second stage: "You are an extremely fat, middle-aged person, going down the road on a hot day. Let me see you walk."[76] The students begin; the teacher points out their exaggerations and demonstrates himself. ("Curve the small of the back, pelvis pushed forward, knees bent slightly, shoulders well down and rounded a little, lean slightly backwards, walk with knees bent, arms swinging almost of their own volution." The class tries again. A few moments later the teacher stops and chooses a particularly effective child to demonstrate. The possibilities seem endless: "Your new shoes are pinching, but you daren't tell your mum because you swore her in the shop last week that they fitted perfectly; the neighbor who considers himself better than anyone else; going out on a Sunday in your new, rather uncomfortable, best clothes; man carrying a heavy load, woman dragging a recalcitrant child, and so on."

Working in pairs follows, and then in groups--gossiping, quarreling, fighting, re-living a child being told off by parents. One class of lower stream students even mimed an ocean airplane crash and demonstrated how the survivors, each in character, would or would not swim to safety. The teacher establishes the setting, occasionally stops the action, requires some individual demonstration, and always provides opportunity for students to repeat so that they will profit from experience.

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[76] The quotations in this section are from the English Syllabus of Walworth Comprehensive School, London, but they could have been taken from many other schools.

Improvised speech is introduced at this stage, usually no later than second form. Simple activities serve as a beginning: telephone conversations, ordering a meal in a cafe, the "altercation at home when you want to go out and you haven't done your homework or you were late in the night before."

Teachers soon begin to seek links with other work: "Imagine you are a group of medieval players pushing a heavy cart; conceive of the last day in the life of the children of Aberfan, rising for a cold breakfast of porridge, trudging off unwillingly to school in the pits, hearing the onrush of water, plunging to disaster below; re-create the story of the prodigal son." Some teachers divide the class into groups, let each develop a portion of the total tale. After fragmentary episodes are presented and represented by each group, with comments or suggestions from teacher and class members, the entire story is retold in one continuous classroom event involving all who are present. That young people can become fully engaged in such experiences was apparent to observers. One incredulous report can stand for many:

> ...The teacher summoned the boys around him again and counted them off, one through five. They were going to create a busy market scene. The ones were tourists; the twos, old men;

> the threes, pickpockets; the fours, street merchants; and the fives, policemen. The teacher told them that when he gave the signal to start, he would put on some music which would set the mood. The boys were told to remember that increases in the music's volume and tempo signified rising temperatures, and that when the music reached its peak, it would be unbearable hot.
>
> With a clap, the boys were off. The music coming from the gramophone seemed to block out the last traces of self-consciousness, for the boys enacted as convincing a scene as this observer has ever witnessed. As the volume and tempo of the music increased, the boys began mopping their brows and slowing their movements, and before the music had ended, they were being pushed to the floor by the oppressive heat. When the music stopped, the boys remained on the floor--some of them so engrossed in what they had become that they had to be prodded back to reality. Even after the period had ended, some of them remained propped against the wall--too tired to move or too determined to express themselves.

What does this have to do with the teaching of English? Sixth form specialists, looking back on their own experiences in drama, could not often be persuaded to say it was unimportant (despite the repeated promptings of some American observers). It made them more sensitive to human beings, they said, more capable of understanding human motivation in literature. The teachers mentioned other possibilities:

> Many of the...children have an inadequate vocabulary...By acting out a situation, e.g., visiting a lonely lighthouse, the class can actually see various methods of approaching--tip-toeing, creeping, running, etc...Not only vocabulary is increased, but the atmosphere of the situation can be created, and lead to better concentration and better finished work. This kind of drama also produces a lively flow of language and can, with gentle encouragement, improve the children's speech.

> I find the most difficult children to teach are 15 and 16 year old boys...Fighting seems to be their main interest and (drama) themes which contain this element (though let it be stressed--controlled) are a great advantage. Ideas which have been particularly fruitful are those such as these: one gang of boys opens and runs a youth club, a second gang comes along intent on ruining it, a fight ensues in which one member is stabbed. The scene continues in the police station and finally in the court room where the murderer is given his due punishment.

The possibilities are many. One teacher reports that his dance-drama group (fourth form, equivalent to our grade 10) interprets various literary themes in dance terms; *The Lord of the Flies*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Paradise Lost* were mentioned particularly, with music ranging from Bach to Gershwin, along with some composed by pupils in the school. Dramatization of myths are common; so are re-creation of sequences from Shakespearean plays (even when students have not read the play but respond only to a plot supplied by the teacher). The Trial, Crucifixion, and Resurrection was common during the weeks preceding Easter. Even the assassination of a President was enacted with young people who concentrated on the emotions of the assassin and the officer who pursued him later, the one "who would sense failure if he did not fire," the other who would "fail if he did."

American observers, initially skeptical about the importance of such work to English, soon grew aware of the sensitivity and excitement drama could create. No doubt it did at times seem little more than "a bit of fun," but spontaneous fun in English is not easily found in this country. Most agreed that the best of such work could add to the pupil's poise and assurance, to his command of oral language, and perhaps to his sensitivity to other people. Certainly the warmth and contentment of lower stream pupils in some of the secondary modern schools was unlike anything seen in the inner cities of this country. Drama may have helped.

The observers worried though about excessive concern with physical movement and dance--important for children, perhaps, but scarcely for the teaching of English. Impact for its own sake seems at times the primary end, and one wonders in what direction, if any, such emotional experiences are leading. But these are nagging doubts about an art only just emerging in secondary education. In its contribution to both linguistic and imaginative growth, the program may have great potential, and is best judged at this moment by its achievements, not its failures. Americans concerned about the alienation of junior high school boys and girls from the academic learnings of our English programs might well consider what drama has to offer.

Shakespeare and Script Drama

The second dimension of the British program in drama, in this case dramatic literature, is classroom enactment of major scenes and plays. From Bristol to Golspie, from Ipswich to Leeds, the emphasis is on drama as literature to be heard and experienced, not literature to be studied. An American teacher typically introduces a play through an extended series of lectures or reports on its cultural background (e.g., Shakespeare's boyhood, Elizabethan customs, Roman costume, the Punic Wars, the history of Scottish Kings), then directs students in a scene-by-scene, if not line-by-line, analysis of the plot, characters, imagery, and underlying symbolism, before permitting oral readings or the presentation of a scene. The British tend rather to dismiss such work as irrelevant to the dramatic experience itself. Striving again for involvement and personal response, they offer little more than the briefest introduction, plunging students into classroom reading and enactment almost without preparation. What "study" there is occurs as the scenes unfold.

Two exceptions may be noted: form V and VI classes studying for examinations often "do" plays much as they "do" novels--complete with textual notes, lectures, and the reading of criticism. But even here oral re-creation is seldom neglected. One observer recalls: "in the very first period spent on Othello, much of Act I was acted out, with little time given to often-dull introductions."

British teachers believe that plays are meant to be read and seen, that the full literary experience cannot be gleaned without attention to the sounds and cadences of the language. This, they feel, is particularly true of Shakespeare, although the approach is often applied to all dramatic literature read.

Drama is more highly regarded in British than in American schools, with at least two plays introduced in every form. Some young people read many more. Shakespeare is presented as soon as teachers believe students are ready: scenes in form I, entire plays in the upper streams of form II. Even the lower streams are not immune. If they cannot tackle a Shakespearean play by the end of their four years in school, they can at least listen to one. Their teachers read endlessly with verve and contagious abandon. Though some American observers questioned the value of such oral readings, others felt students were as attentive here as to other activities.

Particularly in the comprehensive and modern schools, which lie at the heart of the new educational movement, the social protest plays that revitalized West End theatre in the late Fifties are frequently introduced. And students respond well. The plays are frank and outspoken, they question existing social values, contain vivid (sometimes shocking) language which communicates quickly to the young. Arnold Wesker and John Arden have even made the examinations. Overemphasis on such current plays was questioned by some observers, who wondered if social rather than literary values have not dictated the choices. A few British teachers feel the same sense of dissatisfaction and point out that after repeated use, the plays seem a bit old hat. Still, compared to the diet in drama offered to the average American child, the list of plays introduced in British classrooms is eyebrow raising. Here are selected titles of plays found frequently taught in the schools visited in the study.

Non-Shakespearean

Hobson's Choice
Roots
Arms and the Man
The Caucasian Chalk Circle
Our Town
Importance of Being Ernest
The Rivals
The School for Scandal
Death of A Salesman
A Man for All Seasons
Pygmalion
Androcles and the Lion
St. Joan
Dr. Faustus
The Critic
The Knight of the Burning Pestle

Shakespearean

Romeo and Juliet
Julius Caesar
Macbeth
Henry IV, Part I
Henry V
Othello
Hamlet
Twelfth Night
A Midsummer Nights Dream
The Merchant of Venice
Richard II
Anthony and Cleopatra
The Tempest
King Lear
Hamlet

With the exception of Othello, King Lear, and Anthony and Cleopatra, these are as readily found in the lower as in the upper forms. Not all British students read all of these plays by any means, but they read a goodly number, and the better readers end with a far more realistic introduction into the nature of contemporary drama than do most young people in the United States.

Scripted drama activities are as various as those in improvised work. Form "drama festivals" are not uncommon, each class preparing selected scenes for common enjoyment. A fifth form group of girls studied the "Canon's Yeoman's Tale" by translating it into dramatic form, complete with ersatz middle English dialect. A teacher at another school encourages his young people to read Pinter, Ionesco, and Simpson, then to write their own plays of the Absurd. One of his groups prepared and recorded a homespun "classic of the Absurd" with continuous improvised background music. The tape itself, even when cut, ran for two hours, and "the enthusiasm flowed into another class, whose two toughest members joined my group for this voluntary self-organized cooperative literary venture."

In what is probably the most unusual program in drama, actually a program in Shakespeare, much of the first four years is devoted to dramatic experiences. Forms I and II meet in The Mummery, a specially equipped room with full stage, complete with simple lighting, miscellaneous effects, and a supply of costumes suitable for Shakespearean plays. The audience section of the room consists of a series of rough hewn tables and benches, not unlike the classroom used by William James at Harvard University. Recordings and other sound effects are available. From the moment of entry on the first day, the boys are divided into two "Guilds," each with its elected Guild Masters (the Master of the Lighting, the Master of Costumes, and so forth). For two school years the program consists almost entirely of mime, improvisation, and enactment of scenes from Shakespearean drama, culminating in the classroom performance, with scripts, of three plays: *The Merchant of Venice*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Julius Caesar*. During the two years, the teacher strives to develop poise, expression, and the ability to enter the Shakespearean experience. That he succeeds is best indicated by the installation of an advanced Mummery for forms III and IV, where another gifted teacher is developing an experimental drama program of a different type.

Sixth form boys in this school remember the experience with affection. They seem to suffer no handicap in the examinations, perhaps because the school offers stiff if rather conventional fifth and sixth form courses. The origins of the approach are rooted deeply in the school; its development is unrelated to the recent emphasis on sentient experience. Originated years before by a distinguished faculty member called Douglas Brown, it was continued by Christopher Parry, and now by a gifted teacher from the new generation entering the schools. It is called "The Douglas Brown Method" by residents of the community, and Mr. Parry has described it in print.[77]

Public Drama

Britain is fortunate to have many provincial repertory theatres within easy distance of most schools. Although fare varies considerably in accordance with local tastes, major works from our own and past centuries are provided far more frequently than one would suspect. Many department chairmen arrange school excursions to such plays; class visits to see two or three per year are not uncommon. Schools located some distance from any major center will arrange weekend tours to Stratford or to the summer drama festival in the Scotch highlands. Few British pupils want from lack of first hand experience in theatre going; one teacher estimates that the average sixth form graduate had had the opportunity, for example, to see at least six Shakespearean plays.

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[77] Christopher Parry, *The Mummery: Teaching in a Specialist Room*, Use of English Pamphlet No. 4 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1967).

Film study, too, is becoming more widespread in British schools, much as it is in America. Some schools organize Film Societies, booking selected films for out-of-class but in-school viewing during the school year. Others arrange for films to be studied within the classroom. British choices of films suitable for classroom use are as unpredictable as their choices of literature. One teacher reported introducing the American comedy classic _Some Like It Hot_, running and rerunning the seduction sequence so that pupils could study directorial technique! More typical are use of British, American, and foreign art films: _The Red Balloon_, _Odd Man Out_, _The Informer_, _The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner_.

But the school play represents the apex in audience-directed drama. More than an activity for a few selected students, it is a genuine "event" for the entire school. Efforts are made to select plays which allow a large cast and offer a worthy dramatic experience. A list of the last three school plays given at these schools reveals no Whitehall farces or modern Broadway comedies, much less the puerile fare written especially for American high schools. Medieval mystery and morality plays, Shakespeare, the whole range of world drama is represented. Student committees prepare costumes, arrange lights, often compose original music. Almost inevitably the school orchestra plays. Although plays are well attended and audiences appreciative, it is clear that the productions are designed more for the students in the play than for the audience. One school even announced plans to tour high schools in Germany and the Netherlands with its "Romeo and Juliet."

Implications for American Schools

The neglect of drama as literary and theatrical experience for the vast majority of American boys and girls is made apparent by even a casual visit to British schools. Our society perhaps values drama less fully than does the society of Britain, and it may not be insignificant that Scottish schools seemed more American in this respect. Plays were read and studied; acting, if introduced, was mostly an afterthought. Still, the vitality and excitement of pupil response in Britain suggests the need to reevaluate our programs in drama and to introduce more dramatic experiences. Is there any reason why able boys and girls need wait until grade 10 for their first Shakespearean play if their British cousins can respond with enthusiasm at least two or three years earlier? The insipid dramatic fare introduced in our anthologies pales alongside the major works frequently presented in England. A little less attention to the footnotes in American classes, a little more to the participation of pupils in the action of a play might make experiences with dramatic literature more real and vital to our adolescents.

Creative drama remains an enigma to most members of the American observation team. Impressed as we often were with the total immersion of many children in their interpretive experiences, we also saw the chaotic disorganization of classes led by unskillful teachers. Surely British experiments in improvised drama have introduced a powerful resource which can be used effectively in American education, particularly in the junior high school. But where to begin in a nation with so few secondary English specialists informed, interested, or even believing in the possibilities of the approach? Of one thing we are certain. If they are to contribute permanently and basically to emotional and linguistic development, experiences in improvised drama must be part of the mainstream of classroom English activity. Special activities in elective classes will never achieve what we have seen in Britain.

The teaching of drama in British English programs is important to the school and significant to the pupils, to the lower streams and upper forms alike. Few American schools can say the same. One observer's final impressions can stand for many:

> The excellence of the students' dramatic performances was always impressive. Whether performing _The Caucasian Chalk Circle_, _Macbeth_, or _Murder in the Cathedral_, the students were better than could be expected. Whether improvising a market scene, a trip on a crowded bus, or the Trial, Crucifixion, and Resurrection, the students were always convincing. Whether pantomiming a scene from _Hamlet_ or the act of shaving, the students were always sensitive and precise. Similar performances by the majority of American secondary school students would almost certainly be marked by more self-consciousness and less conviction.

Americans interested in exploring the creative approach further will find the following books helpful:

A. F. Alington, *Drama and Education* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961).

Rose Bruford, *Speech and Drama* (London: Menthuen, 1948).

Garrard and Wiles, *Leap to Life* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957).

Rudolf Laban, *Modern Educational Dance* (London, Macdonald and Evans, 1948).

R. N. Pemberton-Billing and J. D. Clegg, *Teaching Drama* (London: University of London Press, 1965).

Valerie Preston, *A Handbook of Modern Educational Dance* (London: Macdonald and Evans, undated).

Peter Slade, *Child Drama* (London: University of London Press, 1954).

CHAPTER X

THE TEACHERS IN THE SELECTED SCHOOLS

> I saw remarkably fine teachers everywhere in all kinds of schools...
>
> As strong a staff as I have ever known in a single department. There is not a weakling among them and at least two are superb.
>
> As good a staff as a superior group of graduate assistants in American universities.
>
> This is a very social lot who liked to drink sherry with the visitor but were amusedly antagonistic toward the paraphenalia of this study.
>
> We were told that all the Mr. Chipses go to seed in the bad public boarding schools. Teachers are easy to hire because this is an attractive city, no satanic mills, good theatre.
>
> The profession seems bifurcated, if not schizoid in at least one respect. There is both money and prestige attached to persons who graduate from the university with honors degrees...At the same time, at least in the comprehensive schools, there is a lurking suspicion about the English specialist.

The success of any instructional program depends in large measure on the quality of its teachers. Observers in the American National Study ranked them first among the strengths of exemplary English programs (citing them in 41 percent of the reports) and sixth among all weaknesses (citing them in 20 percent). The reactions of observers in Britain were similar. The quality of the teaching faculty in English was cited as a strength in 59 percent of all observer reports, more than twice as frequently as any other strength save the competence of the English chairman. Yet 31 percent of all reports noted the inadequacy of many teachers, a weakness second only to lack of sequence and organization in the total curriculum in English. (See Tables 2 and 3, Chapter III.)

Observers who visited extensively in both countries felt that more clusters of exciting teachers were to be found in British schools, whereas in America the outstanding teacher was often a soloist in the midst of a pedestrian choir. They also reported large groups of singularly incompetent British teachers, more lacking in insight into subject, student, and teaching than were any similar groups in America. This duality led one staff member to comment, "Visiting American teachers is like reading 'C' papers--competent, conscientious, and somewhat dull. Visiting British teachers is like reading 'A' and 'F' papers, alternately outstanding and chaotic but always extremely interesting."

Three basic differences between the national groups may be attributed in large part to differences in teacher education in the two countries. The outstanding British teacher, more often than not, is a university graduate with an honors degree, who has passed highly competitive O and A level examinations and secured a place to "read English" at one of the universities. Without question the British programs for selecting university-bound students are so selective that they may be compared only with entrance requirements at the most prestigious colleges and universities in America.[78] Moreover, during their sixth form studies and three years of university work, these specialists devote their time almost exclusively to English. Except in Scotland, the broad pattern of studies in the humanities, sciences, and social sciences characteristic of undergraduate teacher education programs in the United States is not to be found. Small wonder then that carefully selected, highly intelligent, and exceedingly well read cadres of English specialists so impressed American observers, even when the teachers' understanding of psychology, sociology, and general linguistics seemed at times to limit their effectiveness. American English teachers of equal intelligence and education are more difficult to find, even in selected schools.

The bane of American English programs, as revealed in the National Study, is the conscientious, hard working, uninspiring English major who has completed all the necessary college courses for certification in English but remains unmoved by the subject or the students. Perhaps worn down by the heavy burden of paper correction and administrative tasks, he fails to grow with his profession. Observers in the National Study found little evidence to support the widespread assertion that poor teaching of English in the United States can be attributed to large numbers of non-English majors assigned classes for which they lack preparation.

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[78] For example, the bulk of teachers prepared for California schools graduate from state colleges which enroll students from the upper 35 percent of high school graduating classes. In Britain only about 20 percent of all high school graduates go on to any form of higher education. The intellectual quality of the specialist teachers in the U.K. is far more comparable to that of graduates from the University of California, Berkeley, which prides itself on admitting only the top eleven percent of high school graduates.

In Britain conditions are quite different. Frequently concern was expressed about the generalist or non-specialist teachers who had graduated from training colleges (now called colleges of education). Again and again observers reported large numbers of English faculty members who lacked adequate understanding of the subject. Many seemed more competent and more interested in subjects like physical education, art, music, and dance, and were struggling to identify even the purposes of English teaching. For the most part such generalists were found on the English faculties of comprehensive and modern schools, the academic traditions of grammar and public schools being such as to both require and attract the university specialist in English. Not infrequently generalists were deliberately sought by headmasters who felt such background was far more amenable to the social purposes of the institution than were the highly academic traditions of the British university. Excellent teachers of English were found among this group of non-specialists, to be sure, but their excellence was the exception rather than the rule. English chairmen (almost all of whom were specialists) recognized the problem but reported specialist teachers in short supply. Thus they recruited the best non-specialists they could locate. And the colleges of education, not unlike the old normal schools in the United States, continue to provide a general program of studies more suitable perhaps for teachers entering the primary school than for those seeking positions in secondary education. In fairness to these colleges, now engaged in a nationwide program of improvement, it should be noted that historically their mission has been the preparation of teachers for elementary education and that only recently have many undertaken the task of preparing for the upper levels.

Preparation of Secondary School Teachers of English

Information concerning the preparation of teachers of English was obtained from questionnaires returned by 143 teachers in the 42 schools. Personal interviews with 77 teachers, usually those identified by the headmaster or department chairman as being among the better teachers in the schools, yielded additional information. Although the numbers seem small, the questionnaires represent a 41 percent return from the 348 full time or largely full time teachers in these schools, a satisfactory percentage considering the detailed questions involved, the lack of appropriateness of many of the questions for the British situation (questions were largely those asked in the American study), and the British teacher's resistance to questionnaires and surveys of all kinds.

Some 78 percent of the teachers responding to the questionnaire had completed a program at a university (Table 28), slightly more than the 64 percent estimated from data supplied by the department chairmen. (In all likelihood, a higher percentage of specialist than non-specialist English teachers returned the questionnaire.) Because of the unique nature of British higher education, a comparison with the institutions at which American teachers complete their work does little more than suggest vast differences in patterns of preparatory education. Even the American teachers college provides far more general preparation in the liberal arts and sciences than do British colleges and universities.

Of the teachers responding, 56.6 percent had "read" English and literature at a university, the conventional program of studies for the British specialist (Table 29). An additional 18.4 percent reported that they had completed an undergraduate program in a directly related field:

Table 28

Type of Institution at which Teachers Completed Undergraduate Work

	Percent Reporting		Percent Reporting
Type of Institution	British (n=143)	Type of Institution	American (n=1,331)
University	78	University	46
College of Education or Training College	19	Liberal Arts College	32
External Degree	0	State College	10
Other	3	Teachers College	10
		Other	2
	100		100

Table 29

Undergraduate Majors Reported by British and American Teachers (Percentage of Teachers Responding*)

Field of Major	British (n=143)	American (n=1331)
English (Language and Literature Combined)	56.6	71.8
Directly Related Fields	18.4	28.2
English Language	1.4	
Speech	0.1	
Drama or Theatre Arts	4.4	
A combined or general course, including English	12.5	
Other Fields	52.2	39.7
Education	19.8	
A combined or general course, not including English	0.1	
Other subjects	32.3	

*Percentages total more than 100 because of double and even triple majors reported.

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language (1.4%), speech (0.1%), drama or theatre (4.4%), or a general course including English (12.5%). Some 42.2 percent reported preparation in other fields. This would include most teachers from programs in the colleges of education and a small percentage of university specialists who "read" other subjects (classics, languages, history) but are now teaching English. As in the comparative American data, percentages total more than 100 because some individuals reported double majors. A substantial number of British university graduates who completed the one-year postgraduate course at an institute of education checked education as well as English.

The comparison with American data makes clear that more non-majors teach English in these British schools than in the American schools visited in the National Study. A 1961 survey of the National Council of Teachers of English, however, found that only 50.5 percent of all American secondary school teachers of English have majors in their field.[79] The 71.8 percent reported in the National Study schools was seen as an indication of the excellence of their faculties. Similarly, the 56.6 percent holding degrees in English in these selected British schools may well exceed the national average.

Degree and Non-Degree Teachers

Most teachers reporting majors other than English language and literature took their work in the colleges, either the colleges of education or the special colleges for theatre and speech which exist primarily to offer professional training. Programs in the colleges of education are broad and general, giving attention to many subject fields. A concentration on a particular subject area (much like the language arts majors of some elementary education candidates in America) is sometimes permitted, but all candidates must give direct attention to methodology and theory of education throughout their three-year program. Extensive field experiences, including superivised teaching in the schools, is also provided.

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[79] Committee on National Interest, The National Interest and the Teaching of English. (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1961).

The three-year degree programs in the universities, on the other hand, concentrate almost exclusively on subject matter learning. Except in a few of the new universities, most of which have not been in operation sufficiently long to be represented by teachers in this study, little distinction is made between students who plan to teach in the secondary schools and those who have other vocational goals. Although the majority of degree majors have completed no studies in education when they receive their degrees, they are eligible to teach. Thus a considerable number (well over half of those interviewed) begin work in grammar or public schools before having any course work in education or any supervised teaching experience.

At the present time the British educational system relies on the judgment of headmasters in determining the qualifications of his staff, and this has worked reasonably well in the traditional schools. Highly intelligent, carefully selected, competently prepared in subject matter, and entering a school with an academic tradition, the beginning specialist from a university can rely on his own experience and background. With the gradual raising of the school leaving age, however, and the expansion toward a comprehensive system of education, such preparatory programs have encountered criticism. Headmasters in secondary modern and comprehensive schools report that degree candidates from the universities lack understanding of the purposes of education, of the nature of the school, and of the characteristics of the pupils. As a result, administrators in such schools have turned in part to the colleges of education for teachers more qualified to deal with the problems of education in a mass society.[80] Specialists from the university are still needed to prepare for A and O level examinations but generalists from the colleges are preferred for lower forms and non-academic classes. Postgraduate institutes of education have also been organized to provide one-year programs in education for university candidates seeking careers in the field. Such a program usually consists of lectures in educational psychology and the philosophy of education, seminars in method and curriculum problems, and practice teaching in the schools. Somewhat joshingly (but not pejoratively), Cambridge graduates talk of having been "deliteratized" at such institutes. One of the most influential alliances affecting the teaching of English in Britain was that formed between the Cambridge graduates of F. R. Leavis and the one-year graduate program in English education directed by James N. Britton at the University of London, but similar programs are now underway at Bristol, York, and elsewhere. The British Ministry of Education supports the movement toward a post-baccalaureate year in teacher preparation by granting extra stipends to specialists who complete it, and hopes soon to require such preparation. About 50 percent of all specialists now enroll in such programs.

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[80] Chapter IV discusses from a different point of view some of the effects of such assignment on the school program.

In addition, most universities, in cooperation with the Ministry, have organized Departments of Education to develop inservice short courses, institutes, and extension programs to assist teachers already in the field. A substantial number of these inservice courses are held during the academic year. Teachers are encouraged to apply and funds are available through local education authorities to offset fees and sometimes travel and living expenses.

In Scotland, teachers are proud of their "professionalism" and must complete a special postgraduate year of educational studies before employment in the schools. Here and in their tendency to stress a broader, less restrictive program of studies during the early undergraduate years, Scottish traditions closely resemble the American. However, the distinction between the highly selected university graduate and the less highly regarded college of education candidate remains as in England, continuing to haunt teachers throughout their careers.

Degrees from a British university are awarded with or without honors, but a "pass" degree (a degree without honors) is, in the eyes of a substantial number of educators, "little better than a diploma from a training college." Only in exceptional circumstances would a headmaster employ an individual with a "pass" degree as a department chairman or assign him fifth and six form classes. One indication of the unusual qualifications of teachers in schools visited in this study is the fact that two-thirds hold honors degrees. Of the degree candidates in England, about half are second class honors, with the balance split between first and third class honors.[81] That such degrees carry considerable distinction is clear from the many school catalogues which list not only the institution but the degree and honor obtained for each faculty member. Because training colleges have not been allowed to award anything except diplomas, all degree teachers (or specialists) have been university graduates. In an effort to break down such distinctions, the training colleges have recently been designated colleges of education and beginning in 1968 will be permitted to award a baccalaureate degree in education.

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[81] Some institutions do not offer degrees with third class honors.

Yet at the same time, social pressures and the emergence of new educational problems has given rise to a lurking suspicion about the English specialist. This is especially clear in the comprehensive schools where teachers are borrowed part time from another subject area to teach English classes. Frequently this arrangement stems not (as it often does in the United States) from last minute expediency or the need to fill in school programs, but from the feeling that too many specialists are a threat to the new educational program as it is envisioned in England. In more than one school with a vacancy in English, the headmaster was found to be deliberately seeking a non-specialist--and one of these cases was a department of 21 full and part time teachers among whom only six had "read" English at the university. Because of this attitude, more and more graduates find it prudent to take the postgraduate education course at an institute for education where they can strengthen their preparation for teaching in the comprehensive school.

Nonetheless, the duality in the system of teacher preparation continues as a strong influence in the selection, assignment, and advancement of teachers. Degree specialists from the universities are paid more than teachers from the colleges of education; they are more frequently assigned upper form classes; and they are almost certainly more eligible for advancement to positions as department chairman or headmaster. Even the colleges of education, which seek to prepare generalists for modern and comprehensive schools, typically prefer faculty members who hold degrees from universities and not diplomas from other colleges of education. (There is growing opposition to this point of view, however, and it seems rather clear that the historical distinctions between the colleges and universities so apparent in 1967 will become blurred during the years immediately ahead.) As matters stand at present once a candidate is refused admission to a university program and enters a teachers college, he must largely resign himself to a second rate career in education. An outstanding young Scottish teacher, who followed his work in a training college with overseas teaching in Canada, felt that the only way he might be considered for advancement was by completing an "extramural (extension) degree" from the University of London. Thus, the failure of a fifteen-year old boy to pass a sufficient number of O level examinations limits to a considerable extent any realistic expectations he may have for advancement in the teaching profession. To Americans long schooled in "open door" collegiate policies through which the able junior college student may advance to a state teachers college and thence to graduate work at universities such as Stanford or Harvard, the waste and injustice seem incredible.

Mobility of Teachers

The teaching profession in England is a profession of youth. The modal years of experience for teachers in the visited schools was 6-10, but 46 percent had taught five or fewer years. Few teachers seen in England were more than 40 years old; most were in their late twenties. The majority were not teaching a decade earlier, which explains in part the enormous changes in educational milieu since even the late fifties.[82]

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[82] These conditions do not obtain in the schools visited in Scotland and Wales, both with national traditions where teachers are relatively settled. Moreover, the special preparation required for teaching in Scotland as in the United States probably leads to more stability in professional staff. For additional comments on the mobility of teachers, see Chapter IV.

Rapid turnover of teaching staff has not always been characteristic of British education, and members of the project's advisory panel were quick to point to traditional schools which retain a large percentage of faculty members. But surely mobility is characteristic of most teachers observed in the study schools, and the reasons are not difficult to determine: the enormous expansion of schools with the movement toward general secondary education for all; the expansion of colleges of education which recruit most faculty members from experienced school personnel; the comparatively low pay of teachers (a maximum of around £1,400 for those without special responsibilities) and the resulting financial attractiveness of offers from outside the profession; and the national salary and promotion system under which teachers often must move to secure sizeable increments in annual stipend.

The Education Act of 1944 requires that teachers everywhere in England be paid a uniform salary for similar work, with a small bonus allowed in London to offset higher costs of living. To achieve any sizeable increase in his salary, a teacher must accept a more responsible position. Thus ambitious classroom teachers seek posts as teachers with special duties (e.g., library, newspaper, or advising) for which they receive a small additional increment. Each step up the scale requires separate appointment--from teacher with special responsibility to "number two" or assistant chairman of a department, from assistant chairman to chairman, from chairman to lecturer in a department of education or perhaps to headmaster in a school. The effect of this national policy has been to stimulate considerable mobility. Few of the able, ambitious young men encountered in the schools expect to remain in their present positions for more than three or four years. Many in the public schools and grammar schools, once considered favored positions, are now eagerly seeking posts in comprehensive schools so that they may prepare themselves for positions in the new educational hierarchy which they see ahead.[83]

One inevitable result of the turnover in teaching staff is the youthful vigor and excitement reported throughout thisstudy. Another is the readiness for change. With neither the national curriculum directives which attempt to influence education in the United States, the network of professional journals and associations, nor the well developed programs for inservice education, the British have managed to create a far greater climate for change than is present anywhere in the United States.

But youthful rebellion and vigor has its drawbacks as well. Without the balance that comes from counteracting forces, schools can too readily accept the new. Much of the ineffective teaching reported by American observers resulted from inexperience such as that found in a highly regarded comprehensive school in London:

> The weakness of this particular school is that its success is in the hands of an inexperienced staff. They have great enthusiasm but all except the head and Mrs. ______ apologize for the disorder of their classes. They were disturbed by

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[83] Not the least of the worries of public school teachers is fear of "nationalization" of all schools. The weaker public and direct grant schools mayyield to demands for comprehensiveness, but as long as the majority of members of Parliament are "old boys" from Eaton, Harrow, Rugby, and Marlborough, it seems unlikely that complete nationalization will occur.

> some guilt feelings in this aspect of their work. Teaching by their theories requires human relationship structures of gentleness, mutual consideration, and respect. This the young teachers want but cannot achieve. They had only the winsomeness of their own personality and their own individual sets of imperatives to provide the rigor.

Continuing Education of Teachers

Inservice education has become of national concern in Britain. Even though the majority of specialist teachers had until recently completed little more than academic programs at the universities, the need for professional preparation and inservice training became apparent only with the rise of comprehensive schools and the extension of the school leaving age. For the most part, programs are still meagre and far from well developed. The Scottish Education Authority (which also requires preservice professional training) seems to provide more formal opportunities for workshops and short term conferences than do authorities in Britain, although the British inspectorate has made rapid strides during the last few years. Of the 143 teachers responding to the questionnaire, only 12 reported that they had completed a college course since beginning their careers. In all likelihood, the wording of this question restricted some of the respondents: short term "courses" sponsored by the inspectorate and the local education authorities, even weeklong conferences offered by university departments of education, may not qualify as "college courses" in British usage. Workshops sponsored by county authorities are more common than formal courses for teachers. Even so, opportunities for continuing education are more limited than in the United States.

Nor is the pursuit of higher degrees characteristic of the teacher in England. Some 78.9 percent of the teachers had completed no degree since beginning full time teaching, compared with 56.5 percent in America. Of those who had completed a degree, 11.2 percent received the M.A. or equivalent which, except at the University of London, seems to require no formal studies beyond the baccalaureate but only the payment of a special fee and some indication of continued learning. (One teacher said that "mere passage of time was enough.") No teacher reported completion of a Ph.D., although in Scotland one department chairman was engaged in such study at the nearby University of Edinburgh. Only programs leading to a special credential (e.g., for teaching the handicapped) have enlisted any large number of teachers (12.7 percent).

But these low figures may be attributable more to absence of opportunity than lack of interest. A three day conference of the National Association for the Teaching of English attended by project staff members was filled with teachers eagerly seeking greater insight into teaching problems. Local English associations, particularly the London Association for the Teaching of English, organize continuing study groups for members interested in discussing problems in writing or "classroom talk." Local groups of teachers (often called "Use of English" groups after an influential national professional magazine) meet regularly to discuss their problems. And the inspectors, local education authorities, and staff members in departments of education recognize both the need and the demand.

When asked to indicate the courses which would be of greatest interest and value, the teachers in these schools responded with an enthusiasm almost as great as that displayed by their American counterparts. As Table 30 indicates, of fourteen courses listed, a majority of teachers specified some or great interest in at least half of the offerings; had the titles of courses been written in standard British English rather than American educationese, the percentages almost surely would have been higher. Surely, for example, far more than the 43 percent indicating interest in "Intermediate or Advanced Composition" would have responded to a course labelled merely "Writing." Nonetheless, the lack of interest in any study of language, whether "Traditional Grammar," "Structural or Transformational Grammar," or "History of the Language," reflects the prevailing British view that linguistics is a "foreign discipline."

When courses of interest to teachers in the British and American studies are compared, some differences are apparent. The British teacher's concern with the classroom, the student, and the problems of oral language are reflected in his support of work in methods, literature for adolescents, speech or drama, and curriculum studies. American teachers, at least in the exemplary schools selected for study, place greater premium on subject content: literature of particular periods, close studies of authors, literary criticism. They also express interest in further work in composition and language--not unexpected in view of what has been seen in the classrooms. As preservice programs in England require teachers to complete more professional studies in education and as opportunities for continuing education increase, one can suspect that the pattern of teacher preferences will shift. Even at the present

Table 30

Courses of Greatest Interest and Value to Teachers

(Percent of Teachers Responding)

Rank	Course	British (n=143)	American (n=1,331)
1	Practical Methods of Teaching English	90	71
2	Literature of Adolescents	86	72
3	Speech or Drama	82	65
4	Advanced Studies in Curriculum	79	69
5	Literature of Periods	74	85
6	Close Studies of Single Works or Authors	71	83
7	Literary Criticism	62	85
8	Teaching of Reading	57	69
9	Literature Surveys	49	65
10	Literature Genre	47	72
11	Intermediate or Advanced Composition	43	82
12	History of the Language	35	67
13	Structural or Generative Grammar	33	71
14	Traditional Grammar	10	39

moment, it seems likely that the interests of specialists from the universities depart considerably from the generalists from the colleges, but the questionnaire, prepared initially for American teachers, did not permit separate assessment of responses from the two groups.

Professional Activities of Teachers

The project staff was also interested in the evidence of professionalism among the teachers in these schools. British teachers and professors pride themselves on not being "joiners," and clearly the activities if not the impact of professional associations and professional journals are less visible in the United Kingdom than in the United States. Still the investigators felt that English teachers in these selected schools, like their counterparts in America, would tend to be current in their knowledge of the profession and active in professional associations. In general, the findings support this hypothesis.

Not surprisingly, the teachers participate almost as frequently in professional meetings as do teachers in the better high school English programs in the United States. Although Table 31 indicates that a slightly higher percentage of American teachers have participated recently in local, regional and national meetings, the differences are not great. Considering that the British National Association for the Teaching of English (NATE) was organized only five years prior to this study and that many county associations are still in the process of organization, the degree of participation speaks well for British professionalism.

Table 31

Length of Time Since Engaging in Various Professional Activities
(n = 143 U.K. teachers, 1,331 U.S. teachers)

Type of Professional Meeting		Less Than 1 Year	1 Year	2 Years	3-5 Years	6-10 Years	More Than 10 Years	Never
		Percentage of Teachers Indicating						
Local or Regional English Meeting	U.K.	47	8	6	5	3	1	29
	U.S.	55	7	6	5	3	2	22
County English Meeting	U.K.	20	6	4	3	2	1	64
	U.S.	33	6	5	6	4	3	43
National English Meeting	U.K.	10	6	3	3	0	1	77
	U.S.	8	2	4	6	4	3	73
Voluntary English Workshop	U.K.	31	6	8	7	1	1	46
	U.S.	29	7	7	8	5	3	41

Forty-one percent of the teachers of English in this study are members of NATE, contrasted with the 52.4 percent of American English teachers belonging to the better established National Council of Teachers of English. As in America, too, the general professional associations enlist a higher percentage of teachers, with some 87 percent members of groups like the National Union of Teachers or the Assistant Master's Association. A small percentage of British teachers also belong to the English Association (5 percent), the Modern Language Association (2 percent), and the School Library Association (14 percent)--all associations catering to specialized interests--but it is clear that the predominant subject matter group is NATE.

Despite its membership, however, the official journal of NATE is not the most influential professional publication in the country, if subscriptions offer clear evidence of impact. In the United States, more teachers of English read the _English Journal_ (83.5 percent) than admit to membership in the association. In Britain, _The Use of English_ is read by 65 percent of all teachers of English in these schools, the NATE bulletin (now called _English in Education_) by only 40 percent. (See Table 32.) Members of the advisory panel to the study (which included the editor of _The Use of English_ as well as leading NATE officials) expressed surprise that within its short history the association's publication had reached even this large a percentage of teachers. _The Use of English_, on the other hand, for almost twenty years provided information and articles on the teaching of English in the schools. Edited by Denys Thompson, one of the most respected and influential professional leaders in Britain and formerly a close associate of

Table 32

National Professional Journals of English Teaching to which British Teachers Subscribe (n = 143)

Rank Order		Percentage of Teachers Responding
1	The Use of English	65
2	NATE Bulletin	40
3	School Library Review	22
4	Review of English Studies	12
5	Modern Language Review	3
6	Other	44

F. R. Leavis (he once served as associate editor of Scrutiny, the critical journal edited by Leavis), The Use of English has had a pervasive influence on British attitudes. Its strong editorial position has been reflected in two decades of lively (and sometimes controversial) articles on such matters as the use of literature to which young people can respond, imaginative writing, home reading and classroom book collections, the dangers of advertising, the sterility of grammatical exercises.

The data revealing that 40 percent of these teachers are members of NATE or regular readers of its publications indicates that the national association has also played an important role in the profession. Founded early in the sixties as the revolution in English became increasingly widespread, NATE now has more than 3,000 members and is growing rapidly. Its sources of strength are the London Association of Teachers of English, which has been active in the greater London areas for many years, literature of the Cambridge group and the situation-based teaching stressed in The Use of English, found a formal national voice with the organization of NATE and gave rise to the philosophy of English teaching reflected in the programs of many of these 42 schools. It is no simplification to say that most members of the project advisory committee were allied with one or more of these groups and thus recommended for visitation school programs which were attempting to implement the new philosophy. Thus in a very real sense the description of classroom practice in this report is itself a reflection of professional activity among British teachers of English.

Questionnaires were also used to assess the out-of-school activities of teachers, and the results suggest similar conditions for teachers of English everywhere. Median weekly hours spent by British teachers were the same as in America: 7-9 hours in reading books and periodicals; 1-3 hours listening to music; 4-6 hours watching television. Neither in England or America was the average teacher "moonlighting" on another job, nor was he enrolled in a college course. Rather he spends 3 or 4 hours attending movies or the theatre (3 in America, 4 in Britain), 2 hours attending lectures or discussions, an hour or less visiting museums and galleries, writing for publication, or teaching an evening class. Both groups estimated an additional two hours spent on "other professional activities," and one might wonder where they find the time.

Like American teachers, the British also travel widely. Whereas the vast majority of Americans confine their travel to North America, the British restrict theirs primarily to Europe. Eighty-one percent had never visited the United States; 77 percent had visited no commonwealth country. In comparison, 69.3 percent of the American teachers of English reported never visiting the United Kingdom. Ninety-five percent of the British had travelled across Great Britain, however, 69 percent within the previous year. (Here the size of the country and the excellence of inexpensive public transportation is a factor; the equivalent American figure was 15 percent.) Ninety-two percent had visited continental Europe, 42 percent within the preceding year.

In summary, the information on the professional and cultural activities of teachers of English in England suggest that they are much like their American counterparts. They read, they travel, they participate in professional meetings. If their professional journals and associations seem to have had a more visible impact on the teaching of English in the schools than was found in America, perhaps the relatively small size of the country and the resulting opportunities for face to face communication have played an important role.

Teaching Conditions

The conditions under which English is taught in the 42 schools may not differ markedly from conditions elsewhere in the United Kingdom. Considerable variation was noted from school to school, often reflecting the policies of local education authorities who have some discretion in allocating public funds to education and other public services. In general, the separately-endowed public schools and the direct grant institutions not dependent upon government agencies for full support had smaller classes, more commodious school plants, and a better supply of books and equipment. Except in the most prestigious and well established institutions, however, the libraries and building facilities seldom equalled those to be found in a reasonably good suburban high school in the United States. (See discussion in Chapter IV.)

The class load of teachers in these schools is hard to assess in comparison with that reported in the United States. As Table 33 indicates, the largest percentage of teachers meet six classes a day compared with an average of five classes in the American study. However, the greater dispersion in answers from British teachers and the shorter length of the average class period (seldom longer than 35-40 minutes) make interpretation difficult. Surely the 18 percent of British teachers who teach four or fewer periods in the standard eight-period day, contrasted with the 9.1 percent of American teachers with three or fewer periods in the standard six-period day, is a reflection of the greater use of part time teachers in the United Kingdom. It does seem clear that the typical British teacher meets at least one more group of young people daily than does the American teacher, while one-quarter of the teachers meet two more classes daily.

Although these British teachers meet more classes, the average class size does not differ markedly from that reported by exemplary English programs in the United States. (See Table 34.) In comparing these data, however, it is important to remember that the teaching loads reported in the National Study were demonstrated to be considerably lower than teacher-pupil ratios in other American schools. No comparative data are available on all teachers of English in England, but the general lack of concern about teaching load in English (such as that conducted by NCTE and other professional groups in the United States) suggest that

Table 33

Daily Class Load of British and American Teachers

(Percentage of Teachers Indicating)

Number of Classes	British (n=143)	American (n=1331)
1	1	1
2	1	3
3	3	5
4	13	32
5	27	55
6	32	3
7	14	no data
8	8	no data
No Response or other	1	1

		British	American
Me	=	6 classes	5 classes
Q1	=	4	4
Q3	=	7	5
Most Frequent Response		6 classes	5 classes

Table 34

Number of Pupils Met Daily by British and American Teachers

Percent of teachers reporting:

	Fewer Than 100	101-125 Pupils	126-150 Pupils	151-175 Pupils	176-200 Pupils	Over 200 Pupils
British (n=143)	22.0	25.0	27.0	12.5	11.5	2.0
American (n=1331)	21.0	30.8	32.4	12.0	2.6	.3

data for these selected schools may more accurately reflect conditions throughout England than is true of the American figures. In any event, except for the 13 percent of British teachers who report daily pupil loads in excess of 175 pupils, the data seem roughly similar.

Variation in scheduling, however, complicates comparison still further. In a majority of the schools visited, each English class is scheduled for a double period at least once weekly. If five periods of English weekly is assumed to be the national average--and staff inspection would so indicate--a teacher would normally meet the class for three single periods and one double period. Tight scheduling then makes it possible for an English teacher to be assigned responsibility for one more class than he is able to meet on any single day. Thus, the average British secondary teacher actually teaches two more English classes weekly than his American colleagues, and to this staggering burden may be added the responsibilities of split classes which also add to the number of pupil contacts if not the actual teaching time. (See the discussion of schedule splitting in Chapter IV, "The Organization and

Administration of English Programs.") Assuming an average of 25 pupils per class--and only in sixth form and in public schools were many classes below--the typical teacher-pupil load would be seven classes or 175 pupils per week, even though the teacher might seldom meet more than six classes or an average of 126-150 pupils on any one day. Where classes are split between two teachers or assigned only four periods of English instruction each week (thus freeing teachers for additional classroom duties), the number of pupils each teacher must deal with is even higher.

Nor do British teachers have as much in-school preparation time as their American counterparts. Except for department chairmen who have a few additional free periods, teachers in England and Scotland are regularly assigned for 36 periods of the 40-period week. Virtually all American teachers have five free periods in their 30-period week; in almost one-third of the exemplary high school English programs of the National Study, teachers had two conference periods daily. Small wonder, then, that observers found student papers far less carefully annotated in England than in the United States.

But certain traditional practices in British schools ease what seems initially to be an impossible task. The morning assembly exercises are attended by all faculty members and students, but no preparation is required. A midmorning coffee break provides an interval of relaxation and personal exchange for staff no less than students. Lunch hours are invariably lengthy by American standards--almost always an hour and frequently even longer. Teachers can rest, assemble materials, consult with colleagues, even travel home or to local pubs. School hours end by midafternoon and tea is invariably available in the faculty lounge.

The pacing of the school day, too, is less relentless, less inevitable, less fatiguing than in the large American school. Should a teacher not manage to reach his room at the beginning of a class hour, neither teacher nor students seem disturbed. More than a few times during the visits, observers commented on the casual attitudes of everyone toward the school schedule.

Given these differences, it is surprising that British teachers claim to use their time much as do Americans. Yet, as Table 35 indicates, both British and American groups devote 17-20 hours per week to teaching, 5-8 hours to preparation, 1-4 to conferring with pupils, and approximately the same number of hours to routine school business and supervising activities. American teachers feel they spend more time annotating student themes than do the British, a fact verified by all observers in these schools (Chapter III), and the British claim to spend somewhat more time at school meetings and attending to other unspecified professional matters. But the comparison remains most notable for the similarities.

It is difficult for Americans to assess the attitudes of British teachers to the conditions under which they work, more so than in America where interviewers were generally familiar with school conditions and typical complaints. Nevertheless, when reports on personal interviews with 77 selected teachers in the United Kingdom are compared with the reports on 438 similar interviews in the National Study, certain differences can be seen.

Overwhelmingly American teachers report the "most disappointing aspect of teaching high school English" to be the administrative problems--the load, lack of sympathy, failure to group pupils properly,

Table 35

Professional Activities per Week Reported
by British and American Teachers

		Median Number of Hours Reported	
Rank	Activity	British (n=143)	American (n=1331)
1	Teaching Classes	17-20	17-20
2	Correcting Papers	5- 8	9-12
3	Preparing for Classes	5- 8	5- 8
4	Conferring with Pupils	1- 4	1- 4
5	Attending to School Routines	1- 4	1- 4
6	Supervising Pupil Activities	1- 4	1- 4
7	Attending School or Departmental Meetings	1- 4	less than 1 hour
8	Other	1- 4	less than 1 hour

pressure from above, clerical work, and the like. Inability to cope with the slow learner, the slowness of pupil progress, the lack of interest in English studies, the lack of time to accomplish everything, and the impossible demands of paper correction--these are also frequently mentioned.

Most of these complaints appear in the British interviews, but not to such a degree. Particularly rare are complaints about the school administration (either headmaster or department chairman). Where teachers find the routines of "filling out registers" or "locating missing pupils" to be annoying, they rarely hold administrative superiors accountable. Inadequate time is perhaps the most frequent "disappointment" mentioned, but here it is time to teach in the classroom rather than time to correct papers that seems to be the central problem. (American observers unused to the brief 30-minute teaching periods sympathized with such comments and may thus on occasion have encouraged them.)

Another frequent source of complaint were the pressures from external examinations, the GCE's and CSE's which were called "antiquated," "too restrictive," or "responsible for the poor choise of books." No teacher mentioned specifically the problem of teaching the slow learner, possibly because (as this report has indicated throughout) the British English teacher is conspicuously more successful in motivating such pupils than is his American counterpart. Several did express frustration, however, over the lack of interest in English among the pupils, or over their own inability to "get through" to them. Of all of the complaints, the most frequent was that pupils did not always appreciate or enjoy literature as much as did the teachers.

British teachers thus seem generally less restive and more accepting of the conditions under which they teach. This may partly stem from their differing expectations, as shown in what they see as their "most significant compensation for teaching English." To be sure, both British and American teachers mention most prominently the young people with whom they work--"the students," "the faces of children," and so forth. But the Americans express their pride in "helping adolescents grapple with ideas," in seeing progress in composition and ability to read, in students who "light up" in the most general terms. In Britain, the social revolution has alerted the entire generation to the social purposes of education and it is clearly "social and intellectual" growth that pleases teachers most. Their typical response to this question was "seeing pupils react and think for themselves critically and creatively," and many teachers specified that this involves both eliciting a "response" and witnessing the satisfaction which a pupil gets when he produces an original work of his own. They take pleasure in seeing not only the immediate feedback in the classroom but the pupil's success in later adult or university life. Becoming "literate, thinking, feeling, articulate individuals" is important.

Many respondents also listed their own intellectual growth in the constant excitement of the classroom as one of the major benefits. (A substantial number of Americans mentioned the contributions of teaching to their own intellectual life but none in the memories of the project directors considered their classrooms to be "exciting" places.) The British teachers seem to agree that teaching imposes on them the responsibility to read and educate themselves; they are stimulated by the infinite variety of the classroom atmosphere ("never a dull moment"; "the situation is never quite the same"); and they feel they are a part of a highly significant national social and cultural upheaval in which the school is playing a central role. As one of them put it, "Teaching English is teaching a way of life."

Implications for American Education

The much criticized and often justly maligned American programs of teacher education seem, in retrospect, superior to those that can be viewed in Britain. The very attempt of the Ministry of Education to develop postgraduate courses leading to a certificate in education, the inability of the liberal arts undergraduate program to adequately prepare large numbers of very superior students for all instructional responsibilities in the schools, the need for strong continuing programs of inservice education--these are lessons to be remembered. So too are the dangers of creating a large elite teacher corps, such as the group of specialists in Britain, with its resulting effect on professional relations. American traditions in teacher education can surely stand some refinement, but there is much to be preserved.

Yet the British success in attracting large numbers of superior university graduates to teaching needs to be studied carefully. Almost certainly the excitement in these schools is due in large measure to the impact of one bright mind on another. Not often in American schools, with the exception perhaps of a few prestigious private institutions, are clusters of able, imaginative, highly intelligent teachers of English found on a single façulty. The outstanding graduate who enters teaching in America is more likely to lead a relatively routine and humdrum existence during his first few years. He seldom has advanced classes (one "waits his turn" for the honors group), is given few opportunities for intellectual exchange, and all too frequently is discouraged from experimentation. The most persistent of these Americans "sweat it out" as best they can, finding intellectual stimulation outside of the school in professional meetings, and ultimately emerging as leaders with responsibility for stimulating others. They become the catalysts which spur a good department toward professional greatness and their contributions are many; they were observed in many of the schools in the National Study.[84]

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[84] For a complete description of this phenomenon see the discussion in Squire and Applebee, High School English Instruction Today.

But one cannot but wonder how many individuals with such potential become discouraged in the rather pedestrian atmosphere of the typical American department, eventually either leaving the profession or accepting a less exciting, less productive role than their natural talents might have permitted.

In England instead of isolated individuals, observers were impressed by the excitement created by clusters of young teachers fanning the inner spark and commitment too often lost in American schools. Almost certainly a bright young graduate entering the majority of departments observed in Britain would neither desert nor die for want of intellectual and professional excitement. Almost surely, too, word of this excitement has reached the university departments of English, where young people look forward eagerly to careers in education. It is clearly not the absence of studies in professional education but the exciting prospects of missionary work in the schools which attract the better teachers in British high schools. Although British teachers admit no more than Americans to enjoying their lectures in the philosophy and psychology of education, they do respond with exceptional fervor to the seminars on teaching and to preservice field experiences in the school.

Americans might consider also whether the recruitment of superior teachers to college of education faculties would not infuse new blood into our programs while at the same time opening career possibilities to retain able and ambitious teachers in the schools. For many years James B. Conant has urged the appointment of distinguished teachers from nearby schools as adjunct professors on faculties of education: in effect, such adjunct professorships are already the heart of the

British program. With their firm grasp of classroom practice and of conditions within the school, the faculties of the institutes and departments of education have been far more successful than their American counterparts in promoting school reform in England.

Americans would not and could not adopt the national salary schedules and forced mobility of the British but we can admire the network of communication which has created an atmosphere conducive to change. But need American school districts place such a premium on tenure in the school and experience within the system? A deliberate attempt to infuse new ideas and new blood into any system could be made by districts willing to give priority to individuals from other states in filling at least one-fourth of all positions (including top level administrative and supervisory posts), and to accept teaching and administrative experience in other districts as equivalent with their own.

No more important nor more realistic implication can be drawn from either the British or American studies than the need to appoint as English department chairmen individuals who can provide vigorous intellectual leadership for both teachers and students in our schools. If American teachers are ever in their own way to create the kind of excitement in learning seen in the better of these British schools, they will need the help and support and encouragement of a chairman willing to assist in translating occasional dreams into vivid classroom realities.

CHAPTER XI

SUMMARY AND FINAL OBSERVATIONS

> An initial impression of great diversity... gradually yields to one of considerable conformity, despite the fact that pupils vary greatly from school to school. Whether the school is in the slums of London or in the pleasant semirural setting of Marlborough, the goals and the procedures tend to be much alike.
>
> These teachers believe that a student's best preparation for the next level of education is his complete immersion in the present learning experience.

Data on the teaching of English in a society quite different from our own cannot easily be summarized. In a very real sense, this report is a series of case studies of 42 separate programs, each analyzed with respect to discrete aspects of the teaching of English. Yet to guide investigators, eight potential differences between British and American teaching were postulated initially, and a summary of findings with respect to these hypotheses provides opportunity to restate some of the major observations.

Hypothesis No. 1: _A deemphasis on teaching formal "subject matter" or "content" in English classes in the United Kingdom as compared with practice in American schools_. English in these British schools is seen as a process of individual growth and interaction, not as a body of literature, concepts, or skills to which each pupil is introduced. The denial of any fixed body of content is reflected in all aspects of teaching. As Thomas Wilcox notes, "They avoid--and indeed decry--formal studies such as grammar, rhetoric, linguistics, and literary history because they believe that attention to these matters may impede free expression, may distract the student or render him inarticulate. They say they are not interested in 'correctness,' or in nice critical distinctions: their aim is to generate a maximum of fresh, honest and humane verbalization."

Only in preparing for O and A level examinations in the upper forms is the overt discipline of English a real consideration and even at this level the wrenching shift in the ends and means of instruction which they require has helped to generate widespread resentment against the external examinations. Excepting the work in these fifth and sixth form classes, the content of English is of even less concern to British teachers than observers initially anticipated. The fixation of many American teachers on "transmitting the cultural heritage" is scarcely apparent in the attitudes of a majority of British teachers. Indeed most would agree with England's John Dixon who rejects "the heritage model" as a basis for organizing instruction in English.[85] Perhaps this difference between American and British school activity reflects in some measure national differences in recent scholarly activity. The vigorous efforts of American critics and scholars during the past two decades have perhaps best been summarized in George Winchester Stone Jr.'s presidential address to the Modern Language Association in 1967: "We have given back to Western Europe its greatest products enriched by modern principles of editing, annotation, and analysis. They have been accompanied by critical essays and interpretations that place them in the whole current of ideas from which they evolved."[86] With the intellectual leaders of the English community so concerned with a reappraisal of the western heritage, it is not surprising to find such concern reflected in the classrooms of our schools.

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[85] John Dixon, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

Hypothesis No. 2: A greater concern in Britain with student response to literature and a corresponding lessening of concern with the planned study of great works and great authors. If, as Louise Rosenblatt has claimed, the teaching of literature is incomplete until it concerns the work, the reader, and the relation between the work and the reader,[87] American schools have tended to emphasize the work and the British the reader. Lack of concern in England with the history of literature, with the direct applications of literary criticism, and with the introduction of young people to many major writers in English (Chapter V) is parallelled by heavy emphasis on individual response. In many schools the literary quality of what children may read matters not at all (albeit observers questioned less the selection of individual titles than the lack of a balanced program). What matters is that children respond warmly, positively, and deeply. Except for Shakespeare and the books set by the external examinations, classroom literary diets vary widely.

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[86] George Winchester Stone Jr., "The Legacy of Sisyphus," PMLA, (March 1968), pp. 11-12.

[87] Louise M. Rosenblatt, "The Acid Test for Literature Teaching," The English Journal, XLV (February 1956), pp. 66-74.

In Wales and to a lesser extent Scotland, some attempt is made to introduce young people to the major writers of earlier times; in much of England such writers are not infrequently rejected because it is felt that children today do not naturally respond to them. Thus a heavy emphasis on the contemporary is generally characteristic of these programs. Even so, it seems clear that pupils in British schools respond more actively and excitedly to literature than do many in American classrooms and if these young people do not differ significantly from their American counterparts in their preferences in reading, they are at least permitted considerably more freedom to exercise these preferences in selecting the books that they will read. If development of favorable attitudes toward reading is a major goal of any school program and an inevitable prerequisite of discriminating adult reading habits, these current British programs have much that American teachers might emulate.

Hypothesis No. 3: A greater emphasis in the United Kingdom on the creative uses of language. The stress on creativity is particularly noticeable in the teaching of writing, drama, and oral English (Chapters VI, VIII, and IX), but it permeates the entire program. The informality of planning and the absence of curriculum structure is directly related to a belief that, to achieve success in teaching young people to "do English," the teacher must join with his pupils in spontaneous acts of emotional and ideational recreation. Thus much of the attention of these teachers is directed toward creating the classroom situation for learning, selecting the stimuli which may elicit response and then relying on the processes of human interaction. In this view real learning is a direct consequence of such activity. American teachers tend rather to conceive of creativity as one of several dimensions of their programs, important but by no means central or basic to other language activity. One of the major insights gleaned from the study of these schools is an awareness of the contribution which expressive uses of language can make to skill in using the language in all contexts. After their observations in these schools, few members of the project staff would challenge J. N. Hook's conclusion that "Americans err in stressing expository writing so greatly, especially with young children."

Hypothesis No. 4: A greater stress in the United Kingdom on the teaching of expository writing in all content areas of the curriculum, rather than in the English classroom alone. Perhaps because procedures and instruments proved insufficient to provide a clear insight into what might be happening in the various subject areas, observers could not reach a clear conclusion about this generalization. Certainly children wrote a good deal in all their classes. Certainly too essay or short answer questions were standard in science, social science, and other subject areas; objective "true-false" or multiple choice questions were rarely used. Examples were reported from many schools of prose writing in science, scripture, or social studies (see the example in Chapter VI), and more than a few chairmen insisted that teachers of English emphasize personal writing to offset the stress on objective writing in other areas of the curriculum. But such random reports are far from conclusive evidence that British children write more in other content fields than do their cousins in the United States. To the project directors, it seems likely that such a difference does exist, but verification requires a more detailed survey of instructional practice in other fields than proved to be possible here.

Hypothesis No. 5: Comparatively little attention in Britain to formal instruction in rhetoric and in the English language (including grammatical analysis). Abundant evidence indicates that virtually no direct instruction in rhetoric is introduced in these schools (Chapters III, IV, VI) and that, except in one or two experimental programs in Scotland, language study is not even contemplated for future programs (Chapter V). Here and there a few conservative teachers continue older parsing drills, but such exercises are condemned even in the printed syllabi. The study of historical linguistics, lexicography, comparative linguistics, and other dimensions of the newer language programs now being introduced in American schools are of little concern to the overwhelming body of teachers, most of whom have never studied the English language and few of whom have any intention of doing so. Some study of rhetorical principles is introduced in the fifth form language papers, but seldom in relation to student writing or speech. So completely is the emphasis placed on the uses of English, rather than on the study of English, that American observers and British teachers often found themselves unable to communicate even when using identical terminology.

In a very basic way the success of British students in learning to write and speak with considerable effectiveness and power without direct instruction in language offers compelling evidence to support the assertions of American researchers and specialists in English Education who have long argued that such instruction contributes little to writing ability and, if introduced in the classroom, must be justified on humanistic rather than utilitarian grounds.

Hypothesis No. 6: Greater emphasis in British schools on the teaching of speech and oral English. During the first four forms in Britain, spoken English receives as much or more attention than literature itself, and even though the emphasis declines thereafter, speech remains second in classroom emphasis only to literary experiences (Chapter III). In American secondary schools, speech education has long been neglected in programs that devote far more time to composition and language study. In Britain, however, speech education is basic to the evolving philosophy of pupil interaction and response. Although work in oral English, including improvised drama, cannot easily be separated from the written and literary experience from which it derives and to which it inevitably leads, spoken English is seen as primary to all other uses of language. The difference between the practices of British and American teachers seems related to basic differences in national attitude. But with an awareness growing in America of the contributions which sound programs in oral English can make to the total language development of boys and girls, today's practices in Britain offer exciting models to explore and emulate. Probably in no area of the English curriculum in American high schools today are teachers of English more in need of guidance, and in no other area are the British schools so rich in potential applications.

Hypothesis No. 7: Less communication in Britain than in the United States between high school teachers and scholars in university and college departments of English, with corresponding differences in preservice and continuing education of teachers of English. Although patterns of teacher education are very different in the two countries, the differences seem more clearly related to important cultural and social differences than to a lack of communication between scholars and teachers. The revolution in British state-supported education which is now sweeping through these schools appears directly related to egalitarian pressures emanating from changes in the British social structure. From a selective educational program which emphasized rigorous academic programs for the intellectually able, the United Kingdom is moving toward a comprehensive system stressing social education for all. The impetus for reform in the school thus comes from those with deep personal commitment to social reform, and such individuals are not necessarily those found in the university communities. In American schools, however, where comprehensive public education has long been established, the reform movement of the past decade has centered on strengthening academic opportunities for the intellectually able. In such a movement it is natural that university scholars in various subject disciplines would play leading roles. The role of the scholar in education in the United States is thus quite different from his role in Britain, and the absence of direct communication between the British scholar and teacher is not a major problem.

There are other differences which account for the comparatively few opportunities for preservice and continuing education--the lack of a professional tradition in England, of institutions responsible for continuing education, of economic support for such enterprise (Chapter X). Yet even while noting the general lack of involvement of recognized scholars in redesigning schools programs, one should observe that few American professors of English have as yet had an effect on high school teaching in this country comparable to that of F. R. Leavis, who through his disciples has contributed substantially to reshaping the content and approaches of many British programs in English.

Hypothesis No. 8: Greater reliance in Britain on the use of external examinations to control the quality of offerings; correspondingly less emphasis on prescribed courses of study and textbook adoptions for this purpose. There is no question that external examinations (Chapter II) influence the entire pattern of instruction during the upper forms and contribute to the sharp discontinuity between instruction during the first four years and that introduced thereafter. The examinations are virtually the only external check on the quality of educational programs, the only accepted method of determining the qualifications of pupils for admission to college and university or for certain kinds of employment. So long as a school program can ensure that a reasonable percentage of pupils will pass these examinations, it can experiment at will. Thus the British syllabi consist of little more than miscellaneous advice on method and organization together with a frequently scanty list of books available for instruction (Chapter IV). In no school were attempts made to identify detailed concepts, skills, or subject matter learnings to be emphasized at any particular level, much less an overall developmental pattern throughout the years.

Here again differences between British and American traditions are attributable to a different perception of the subject itself, but to American observers it seemed that the mere existence of the external examination system provided a check on quality and allowed rather complete internal innovation. American schools, lacking any comparable external check, would be hard pressed to justify to their communities many of the radical innovations observed throughout England. It thus seems unlikely, however leaders in English education may condemn the British examination system, that substantial modifications will occur without the introduction of other kinds of external guidance for instruction, such as the detailed course of study or instructional guide so prevalent in the United States.

The visits to 42 secondary schools selected as pacesetters in the teaching of English in England, Scotland, and Wales indicates that practice in those countries departs in many significant ways from that common in the United States. Of all of the differences, most basic seems to be the deemphasis on cognitive learning. Whereas recent improvement in American education has evolved largely from a concern with substance, knowledge, and the problems of knowing, recent improvement in British English education has resulted from a concern with emotion, personal response, and the problems of feeling. It is not surprising then to find Americans turning to the new literary criticism, the new rhetorics, the new theories of grammar to bring about curriculum change, or that Jerome Bruner, a specialist in the psychology of cognition, has had an enormous impact. And just as understandably, the British have turned to the theories of drama, creativity, affective psychology, and Jean Piaget. "We have reexamined the literary canon of the past to determine those works accessible to young people today," say our British colleagues who teach Shakespeare, Lawrence, Twain, and a host of contemporary writers but neglect many 17th, 18th, and 19th century writers. "We have tried to determine the structure of literature and literary genres about which all children should know," might reply the Americans, and they more and more concentrate on a small number of masterpieces from all centuries and ignore their own living, realistic tradition of the twentieth century. "The central purpose of education is to teach children to think," states the influential Educational Policies Commission in the United States."[88] "The purpose of English instruction is to teach people to live and feel without fear," insists a gifted teacher at a school in suburban London. The difference is basic.

What the British seem to be moving toward is a new philosophy of communication, a conception founded on faith in a process of growth in perception and response. Throughout, the use of language is dominant, for it is through language that young people learn to develop and express their awareness and to shape and create experience. It is a way, says J. N. Britton, of "entering the universe and of living in it." Writing, speaking, interpreting, and reacting are thus seen as similar and central to a process in which the ultimate end is a fuller, more sensitive response to life itself. While engaged in this evolving experience of learning how to live and how to respond to living, the child will acquire some skills, some knowledge, some perception of form, but such acquisition is peripheral and incidental to the totality of the experience itself. "We do not think that anyone can instruct children in how to 'realize' their experiences in words, how to shape them, how to 'choose' words or to use varied sentence structures before they write their compositions. Indeed, even markers should not approach a composition armed with stylistic criteria: they should set out to be as receptive as they can, to be 'good listeners!'"[89] writes a committee of the London Association of Teachers of English in arguing against the direct teaching of language skills. This is why many British teachers see no need to plan a curriculum to teach discrete skills, and this, in essence, is why so many cannot share the American concern with the literary heritage, grammar, or rhetoric. It is not that they fail to recognize that such subject matter exists, it is rather that they focus on different goals.

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[88] Educational Policies Commission, The Central Purpose of Education. (Washington D.C.: National Education Association, 1961).

Not all Americans readily accept the recent concern with subject matter, but even our reformers depart considerably from those in the British schools. American curriculum specialists have been urging, for example, that programs be formulated to produce behavioral outcomes rather than to merely list subject content. In contrast, British teachers seem individually to be concerned with the immediate response and its consequent effect, without attempting to program these changes in any preconceived hierarchy. Whereas some American educators have been attempting to codify behavioral objectives rigidly, British teachers have never lost sight of the process of education--and here the student plays the most vital role.

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[89] Nancy Martin, Chairman, Assessing Compositions, A Discussion Pamphlet. (London: Blackie and Sons, 1965), p. 7.

Yet surely education in English must provide a reasonable balance between process and content, between thinking and feeling. If Americans have for too long overemphasized the cognitive at the expense of the affective, the substance at the expense of the process, it is as a reaction to the excesses of the past. If British teachers currently overemphasize feeling at the expense of knowing, the process at the expense of the content, this too may result from a rejection of past excesses. Can knowledge help individuals to control and extend their creative endeavors? Can teachers find appropriate ways of introducing direct instruction in the use of language to enhance rather than inhibit the students' growing interest? Can the highly favorable attitudes toward literature and writing so apparent in Britain be fostered in the United States without abandoning concern for structure and sequence in daily lessons and the curriculum as a whole? Questions like these continue to trouble the American observers long after visits have been completed. It seems clear that national innovation in English education is well underway in the United Kingdom, and there is much that Americans can learn from it. Indeed, as one observer predicted, "British teaching of English may soon be as interesting a phenomenon to all American teachers as the Liverpool sound is to American youth."

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GLOSSARY

The Terminology of British Education

A level examination: An examination for 18 year olds given towards the end of the sixth form; students select which three subjects they will take in preparation for A (advanced) level exams and receive, if successful, an Advanced Level General Certificate of Education. See also "external examinations."

B.A.: Bachelor of Arts; in England this degree represents a three-year intensive university study of a special field, and in most universities converts automatically to an M.A. with the payment of specified fees and the elapse of a specified period of time. In contrast, the M.A. is the first degree at the University of Edinburgh.

BBC: The British Broadcasting Corporation; the government-operated national television and radio network.

CSE: A recently initiated examination for 16 year olds given at the end of the fifth form or fifth year; designed for students of more nearly average ability than those taking the GCE; the Certificate of Secondary Education is awarded to any pupil who is successful in one or more subjects. The examinations are more broadly based than GCE and often involve the submission of student work. See also "external examinations."

Catchment Area: The drawing area for a given school; equivalent to an American school district.

Certificate in Education: See "Training College."

College of Education: See "Training College."

College Students: Students in training colleges or technical colleges rather than those studying at a university.

Comprehensive Schools: The newest pattern of organization in state-supported British secondary education, attempting to provide for all social classes and levels of ability within one institution. The comprehensive schools are seen as a major equalitarian force in the new social revolution, and are the closest of all the British patterns of organization to the typical American high school.

Degree Teacher: A teacher with a university degree; a specialist teacher.

Department of Education: Departments associated with universities and concerned largely with the inservice education of teachers, to be distinguished from Institutes of Education and Colleges of Education.

Direct Grant School: An independent school partially supported by a direct grant from the national Ministry of Education, rather than through the Local Education Authority.

Education Officer: An agent or member of the local or national education authorities. See also "L.E.A." and "Ministry of Education."

Eleven-plus examination: An external examination, now being discontinued, given at the end of the primary schooling, when students are normally about eleven years old, to determine which will go on to selective schools, e.g., grammar or technical schools. See also "external examinations."

The English Master: The department chairman or senior teacher.

External Examinations: Examinations administered by an agency external to the school at the end of primary or secondary education, in order to determine what kind of education, vocational or academic, the students will continue to pursue. The various examining boards are normally associated with universities but include school as well as university representatives in determining policy. Each school selects the board which will administer examinations, normally on the basis of geographical location and school traditions. With the assistance of teachers, pupils select those subjects on which they are to be examined. See also "Use of English," "O level," "A level," "CSE," and "eleven-plus" examinations.

Form: The equivalent of grade in American education; the British secondary schools are divided into six forms roughly equivalent to American grades 7-12. The first five forms are one year long, the sixth form in England (but not in Scotland) having a second year by common concensus equivalent to the first year of college. The "lower forms" consist of the first through fourth forms, the "upper forms" of forms V and VI.

GCE: General Certificate of Education; granted after the successful completion of O or A level examinations.

Grammar Schools: Publicly supported schools theoretically furnishing an academically oriented education to capable students of all social classes; in reality, the students tend to be primarily middle class. Originally a democratic force in opposition to the exclusiveness of the public schools, grammar schools have come under attack recently as generating their own elitism.

HMI: Her Majesty's Inspectors; the agents of the Ministry of Education responsible for continuing inspection and improvement of school programs throughout England and Wales. There are separate HMI's responsible to the Scottish Education Department.

Headmaster: The chief administrator within a school; roughly equivalent to the American school principal, but with fewer responsibilities to public relations and more to academic concerns.

Headmaster's Conference: An association of headmasters from the independent schools and selected grammar schools of great reputation.

Honors Degree: University courses culminate in examinations leading to a degree of pass or of first, second, or third class honors; the honors degrees carry with them considerable prestige and continue to be cited throughout a graduate's career.

I.T.V.: Independent television; a commerical television network.

Independent Schools: See "public schools."

Institute of Education: A university-affiliated institution providing professional and academic training and usually working closely with the schools in surrounding areas.

L.A.T.E.: The London Association for the Teaching of English; one of the oldest and most influential local associations of English teachers.

L.E.A.: Local Education Authorities; the local board of officials who control the schools in a given area. They distribute funds allocated by the Ministry of Education or the Scottish Education Department, but unlike the American Board of Education, have no control over the total school budget.

Lower Forms: Forms I to IV. See "form."

Lower Streams: See "streaming."

Maintained School: Any school which receives financial support from the local educational authority.

Ministry of Education: The national body responsible for education at all levels. It determines educational policies, budgets, and priorities, and makes periodic evaluations of the overall program in each school in England and Wales. See also "H.M.I." and "S.E.A."

Modern School: Secondary Modern School.

N.A.T.E.: The National Association for the Teaching of English; the recently formed British equivalent of NCTE.

Newsome Report: *Half Our Future* (Her Majesty's Stationery Office: London, 1964); an influential report on education for students of average or less than average ability, prepared for the Ministry of Education by the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) under the chairmanship of John Newsome.

O level examinations: An examination for 16 year olds given at the end of the fifth form; students select the subjects on which they will be examined and receive, if successful, an Ordinary Level General Certificate of Education. See also "external examinations."

Oxbridge: Oxford and Cambridge.

Pass Degree: A university degree awarded without honors. See "Honors Degree."

Primary Schools: Equivalent to the American elementary school but subdivided into infant and junior schools.

Public Schools: The system of privately endowed, often socially prestigious institutions such as Rugby, Marlborough, or Eton. Heavily academic in orientation, they provide an exclusive education for the aristocracy or upper middle class. The American equivalent would be independent boarding schools such as St. Paul's, Andover, or Exeter or independent non-boarding institutions like St. Louis Country Day School.

Rector: The Headmaster of a grammar school in Scotland.

"Read" English: To study English as a special subject; equivalent roughly at the university level to the American "major."

SCE: Scottish Certificate of Education; the Scottish equivalent of the British GCE.

SEA: Scottish Education Authority; the equivalent of the British Ministry of Education.

SLC: Scottish Leaving Certificate.

Schools Council: The central agency appointed to work with the Ministry of Education to offer leadership in curriculum development. Leading educators assigned to the Schools Council frequently serve a tenure of two or three years. They work with appointed representatives from schools and colleges in funding projects, writing reports, and determining policy.

Secondary Modern Schools: A group of publicly-supported schools created by the Education Act of 1944 to provide education through the fourth form for the mass of non-college bound students. In contrast to grammar schools, they tend to be oriented toward experiential and informal curriculum structures rather than academic learnings.

Set Books: Literature texts which are "set" or prescribed for study by the external examination boards; the set texts are changed every year. The term is sometimes used within a school with reference to titles "set" for a particular form by the school syllabus.

Setting: Assignment of pupils within a form into homogeneous groups equivalent to American "x,y,and z" sections. Unlike "streaming" which continues over several years, a pupil may be "set" in a high ability class in mathematics and an average class in English.

Sixth form: See "Form." The final two-year British program for selected pupils pursuing specialist study in the arts (English, history), the sciences, or in classics. Instruction tends to be in seminars and culminates in A level examinations. In Scotland, sixth form involves only one year of study.

Specialist Student: A sixth form student who has elected to study a subject in depth; at the university level, a student reading for examination in a subject.

Specialist Teacher: A teacher with a university degree rather than a certificate from a training college; hence a teacher with intensive academic education in a special subject. Roughly comparable to an American teacher with a college major in the subject he is teaching.

Streaming: The division of students into continuing classes by criteria such as ability and past accomplishment; the equivalent of American tracking. The upper stream is usually highly academic, the lower streams vocational and remedial.

Technical Schools: Created by the Education Act of 1944 to provide specialized secondary education in technical subjects; although designed as a third dimension of the modern school-grammar school system, these schools have not proved popular and are declining in most areas.

Training College: A professional school traditionally responsible for preparing school teachers and offering a three year general course leading to a certificate in education. Until fairly recently the colleges prepared only candidates for elementary teaching. Recently these schools have been renamed colleges of education, have taken on students wishing to teach at the secondary level.

Tripartite Education: The program established by the Education Act of 1944 which divided publicly supported schools into grammar, technical, and secondary modern schools.

Upper forms: Forms V and VI. See "Form."

Upper streams: See "Streaming."

Use of English Examination: A newer examination set by the university examining boards; emphasis is on the student's ability to use the language rather than on a specific body of knowledge. See also "external examinations."

Use of English Groups: Local English teachers associations, taking their name from the professional journal The Use of English.

APPENDIX A

MISCELLANEOUS TABLES

Table 36

Attitudes of Teachers toward Selected Issues in the Teaching of English

(n = 143 British teachers and 1,481 American teachers)

Issues Presented for Reaction	Group	Percentage of Teachers Indicating Agreement	Disagreement	Uncertainty
I. Literature, Language, Composition as integrated or separate courses.				
6. Literature, composition and language are most effectively taught as separate courses.	UK	5.3	90.4	4.3
	US	9.0	82.3	8.7
23. Literature, composition and language are best taught separately within a single English course.	UK	10.6	83.1	6.3
	US	12.8	75.0	12.2
1. Language content should be taught as an integral part of English according to an organized plan rather than introduced as the need occurs in relation to writing and usage of students.	UK	20.7	67.9	11.4
	US	53.5	32.2	14.3
II. Immediacy of impact of literature.				
4. Though the experience of reading a worthwhile piece of literature may mean little to a student at the moment, he will generally be able to recall the selection and appreciate it later on.	UK	37.9	28.9	33.2
	US	38.8	29.6	31.6
13. The proper choice of high school literature should be that which can be comprehended and appreciated at the moment by the majority of the class.	UK	77.0	11.2	11.8
	US	61.5	24.5	14.0
III. Composition				
A. Teacher's responsibility.				
7. The high school English teacher's most important responsibility is to teach composition.	UK	10.1	74.6	15.3
	US	14.5	70.3	15.2

III. Composition (continued)	Group	Agreement	Disagreement	Uncerta
11. Because of the increasing emphasis on the spoken word, more stress must be placed on the skills of speaking and listening, even if this means devoting somewhat less time to literature or written composition.	UK	73.3	9.6	17.
	US	43.8	34.6	21.
B. Frequency of student writing *vs*. other.				
20. Given the choice, it is more important that each student write something each week than that each paper be evaluated closely.	UK	82.0	6.9	11.
	US	51.7	34.2	14.
28. Frequency of student writing is more important than less frequent, but longer and more comprehensive writing assignments.	UK	71.9	10.1	18.
	US	73.4	11.5	15.
17. There is more value in assigning four themes a month to be graded specifically for technical errors than in requiring two themes a month to be graded comprehensively for diction, grammar, sentence structure, content, logic, and development.	UK	25.9	38.6	35.
	US	15.9	69.8	14.
C. Models.				
18. Unless students read frequently and widely, they will not develop their writing potential adequately.	UK	94.2	1.1	4.
	US	82.8	5.7	11.
21. Frequent exposure to many examples of good writing accompanied by some writing practice will do more to improve student writing than will constant practice with infrequent exposure to good stylistic models.	UK	76.1	4.8	19.
	US	75.0	9.8	15.

III. Composition (continued)	Group	Agreement	Disagreement	Uncertainty
D. Kinds of evaluation of papers.				
1) 20. Given the choice, it is more important that each student write something each week than that each paper be evaluated closely.	UK	82.0	6.9	11.1
	US	51.7	34.2	14.1
10. No composition or theme should be returned to a student which has not been rigorously examined for technical errors.	UK	13.4	78.1	8.5
	US	24.6	64.9	11.5
17. There is more value in assigning four themes a month to be graded specifically for technical errors than in requiring two themes a month to be graded comprehensively for diction, grammar, sentence structure, content, logic and development.	UK	25.9	38.6	35.5
	US	15.9	69.8	14.3
2) 30. If they are to develop their writing skills adequately, students should be required to revise each paper thoroughly, and teachers must check these revisions to ensure understanding and improvement.	UK	41.3	36.3	22.4
	US	66.8	14.9	18.3
3) 27. Marking papers with a double grade (for mechanics and content) is of more benefit to students than assigning a single, comprehensive grade.	UK	45.2	31.4	23.4
	US	67.2	16.1	16.7
E. Writing topics.				
8. Virtually all student writing should grow out of the literature read and discussed by the class.	UK	20.4	67.2	12.4
	US	29.0	59.7	11.3
12. Students learn more about writing if they write about personal experiences rather than about literary subjects.	UK	79.6	4.8	15.6
	US	28.7	41.8	29.5

III. Composition (continued)	Group	Agreement	Disagreement	Uncerta
F. Term paper.				
22. English teachers should see to it that students write at least one term paper (or long research paper) before going to college.	UK	51.9	13.8	34.
	US	71.7	13.2	15.
G. Short story writing and poetry.				
5. Students will become better writers if they are allowed frequent opportunities to express themselves imaginatively by writing stories and poems rather than if they are restricted to expository forms.	UK	95.8	2.1	2.
	US	55.9	25.7	18.
24. Practically all students in high school should occasionally be expected to write stories and poems.	UK	95.8	1.0	3.
	US	54.6	29.9	15.
IV. Literature				
A. Miscellaneous				
11. Because of the increasing emphasis on the spoken word, more stress must be placed on the skills of speaking and listening, even if this means devoting somewhat less time to literature or written composition.	UK	73.3	9.6	17.
	US	43.8	34.6	21.
2. Students must be given freedom to select literary works, even if such freedom means they occasionally choose inferior works at certain stages of their development.	UK	80.0	7.9	12.
	US	61.1	25.8	13.

IV. Literature (continued)	Group	Agreement	Disagreement	Uncertainty
B. Close textual analysis.				
1) 25. A critical and comprehensive analysis of a poem will do more to destroy its beauty than it will to develop literary appreciation among students.	UK	26.9	45.2	27.9
	US	20.1	61.1	18.8
9. It is necessary to teach some literature (primarily poems and short stories) through close textual analysis to help the students develop an appreciation of good literature.	UK	66.1	16.1	17.8
	US	83.5	8.7	7.8
2) 26. Students need to study the history of literature so that they may better understand the current trends in literature.	UK	33.9	39.7	26.4
	US	60.7	18.8	20.5
V. Speech.				
11. Because of the increasing emphasis on the spoken word, more stress must be placed on the skills of speaking and listening, even if this means devoting somewhat less time to literature or written composition.	UK	73.3	9.6	17.1
	US	43.8	34.6	21.6
29. At least once during each semester, every student should have the opportunity to give a prepared, oral presentation to his English class.	UK	76.7	5.3	18.0
	US	83.2	6.4	10.4
VI. Language				
A. 16. Instruction about the structure of language is necessary to one's learning to use the language proficiently.	UK	31.8	47.6	20.6
	US	65.9	18.1	16.0

VI. Language (continued)	Group	Agreement	Disagreement	Uncerta
B. 15. Because language patterns vary constantly according to use, it is unrealistic to insist on a single standard of usage among students.	UK	66.5	15.7	17.
	US	42.1	42.6	15.
VII. Miscellaneous.				
A. 3. Novels and plays adapted to suit the abilities of slower students are essential to a good English program because they afford these students as acquaintance with the best in literature.	UK	62.1	16.3	21.
	US	74.4	16.1	9.
B. 14. Memorization of words and their meanings is of considerable value in extending the range of a student's useful vocabulary.	UK	21.2	55.0	23.
	US	30.3	43.7	26.
C. 19. A literature program in which selections are grouped around topics or themes offers the best approach to developing permanent appreciation.	UK	57.8	13.5	28.
	US	41.1	24.0	34.

Table 37

Observer Ratings of English Programs on Selected Characteristics

(n = 66 reports on 35 English schools)
(n = 14 reports on 7 Scottish schools)
(n = 181 reports on 116 American schools)

Rating Scale (1-7)
Excellent (1) ---Inadequate (7)

	English Mean Ratings	Scottish Mean Ratings	American Mean Ratings
Variety in Teaching Method	3.5	4.0	4.1
Variety in Teaching Material	3.7	3.9	4.6
Student Response in Discussion	3.2	4.2	3.7
Teacher Leadership in Discussion	2.9	3.4	3.9
Emphasis on Ideas in Literature	2.6	3.3	3.4
Well Stocked Library	3.8	4.8	3.3
Intellectual Climate in School	3.4	3.9	3.6
Frequent, Varied Composition	2.8	3.3	3.7
Coordination of Language, Literature, Composition	2.8	3.9	4.1
Appropriate Sequence and Proportion in Program	4.2	4.0	4.1
Effective Program in Reading	5.3	5.1	4.5
Effective Department Chairman	3.3	2.8	4.1
Support by School Administration	2.4	3.0	3.3
Quality of Teachers -- Some Outstanding	2.4	2.3	3.0
Curriculum for Terminals	3.5	4.0	4.8
Curriculum Reflects Changing Conditions	2.4	3.8	4.4

Table 38

Frequency of Fourteen Selected Classroom Practices

(n = 107 American schools reported by 187 observers)
(n = 35 English & Welsh schools reported by 66 observers)
(n = 7 Scottish schools reported by 14 observers)

	Much in Evidence; to Constant Use			Frequent Use by Some Teachers			Some Indication of Use			Infrequent Use			No Indication of Use			No Report on Practice		
	E	A	S	E	A	S	E	A	S	E	A	S	E	A	S	E	A	S
Classroom Book Collections	6	10	0	13	18	2	14	28	6	17	64	5	16	61	1	0	6	0
Independent Study	4	2	1	4	27	4	21	63	4	17	46	2	18	41	3	0	8	0
Programed Instruction	0	2	0	0	4	1	0	21	0	2	22	1	63	133	2	1	5	9
Pupil Conference with Teacher	2	7	0	7	20	1	33	55	6	19	62	3	5	37	4	0	6	0
Remedial Reading Program	2	4	1	7	18	2	9	49	1	5	34	2	43	67	7	0	15	1
Silent Reading in Class	5	7	1	11	24	2	21	72	9	12	48	2	13	28	0	4	7	0
Developmental Reading	2	-	1	1	-	1	7	-	0	6	-	2	50	-	0	0	-	10
Team Teaching	1	4	0	2	15	1	7	14	1	5	15	2	50	122	10	1	17	0
Use of Grammar Texts	0	44	0	2	54	1	9	59	6	15	20	3	37	4	3	3	6	1
Use of Multiple Sets of Texts	16	34	3	14	42	4	19	34	4	5	24	2	12	45	0	0	8	1
Use of Reading Laboratory	0	3	0	0	14	0	2	30	2	4	26	0	49	97	12	11	17	14
Use of Single Anthology	2	61	0	2	42	1	3	36	0	6	22	0	48	20	13	4	6	0
Use of Workbooks	1	10	3	0	20	2	2	38	1	4	43	4	59	68	4	0	8	0
Writing in Class	21	20	2	19	57	5	17	73	4	8	19	3	1	6	0	0	2	0

Table 39

Emphasis in Literature Programs Reported by Observers

(n = 66 observer reports on 42 English, Scottish, Welsh schools)
(n = 187 observer reports on 107 American schools)

	Much in Evidence, Widespread		Frequent Use by Some		Occasional Use		Infrequent Use		No Evidence of Use	
	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US	UK	US
Thematic or Idea-Centered Teaching of Literature	15	21	22	48	20	64	6	31	7	15
Emphasis on Literary History	0	22	12	47	13	62	24	27	31	19
Emphasis on Literature as Social Documentation	4	4	19	27	30	74	18	53	7	21
Emphasis on Morals to be Gleaned from Literature	3	5	7	32	24	71	28	45	19	22
*Emphasis on Particular Work	21	nd	26	nd	18	nd	12	nd	4	nd

*Category not included in the American Study

Table 40

Objectives in Teaching Literature as Ranked by Departmental Chairmen

	Number of responses rating:					
	U.K. (n = 41 reports)			U.S. (n = 102 reports)		
Objectives	1	2	3	1	2	3
The pupil's development through literature--his greater insight into human experience.	33	1	2	62	23	10
The pupil's aesthetic response and appreciation of each work of literature as a significant and unique experience.	4	19	8	no data		
The pupil's ability to comprehend the meaning and the development of a particular work of literature.	3	3	13	24	20	22
The pupil's understanding of literature as art, of the various genres of art forms.	1	2	5	1	6	15
The pupil's acquaintance with the literary tradition, defined not merely as his knowledge of titles, authors, etc., but also as his awareness of major ideas which run through literature of all times.	0	3	4	9	32	31
Totals	41	38	32	96	81	78
	No response: 5			No response: 1		

Table 41

Reading Preferences of British Students
(percentage of students responding)
(n = 4,301)

Category of Reading	Rank Order: All	Form IV	Form V	Form VI	College-Bound	Future Undecided	Terminal	Boys	Girl
Number =	4,301	1,313	973	731	2,602	1,111	588	2,652	1,64
Humorous	1	61.4	64.0	58.7	64.0	62.7	59.1	62.6	63.
Detective, Mystery	2	64.1	52.4	41.2	58.7	65.2	61.1	57.4	66.
Adventure	3	52.2	44.6	38.2	51.1	50.9	46.0	60.0	35.
Science Fiction	4	48.4	52.4	45.0	50.9	43.8	42.5	54.4	37.
Romance	5	36.8	36.3	24.5	31.1	34.8	49.4	13.2	68.
History	6	31.5	33.5	36.8	37.9	29.1	20.7	33.1	33.
Other	7	26.4	30.3	36.5	35.1	31.3	23.9	33.2	31.
Sports	8	25.9	24.4	18.6	26.1	30.9	25.3	35.4	14.
Biography	9	20.0	25.6	36.4	29.5	17.0	13.1	20.8	29.
Science	10	20.3	23.2	26.1	28.2	15.8	11.5	31.5	8.
Current Problems	11	13.3	20.6	28.3	19.4	11.7	11.7	19.2	11.
Poetry	12	10.3	18.4	27.6	17.1	13.1	10.4	11.1	21.

Table 42

Courses Reported of Interest and Value by Teachers
(Percent of Teachers Responding)

Type of Course	Percent Indicating Great Interest	Percent Indicating Some Interest	Percent Indicating Little Interest	Percent Indicating No Interest
Literature Surveys	10	39	32	19
Literature of Periods	25	49	16	10
Literary Genre Courses	9	38	32	21
Literary Criticism	23	39	25	13
Literature of Adolescents	50	36	7	7
Close Study of Literature	32	39	20	9
Intermediate or Advanced Composition	8	35	34	23
Speech or Drama	42	40	12	6
History of the Language	7	28	38	27
Traditional Grammar	1	9	21	69
Structural or Generative Grammar	9	24	25	42
Teaching of Reading	25	32	22	21
Practical Methods of Teaching English	56	34	6	4
Advanced Studies in Curriculum	45	34	14	7

Table 43

Teacher Assessment of Selected Teaching Aids and Learning Materials

(n = 143)

Teaching Aid or Material	Percentage of Teachers Rating				
	Essential	Very Important	Of Some Importance	Not Very Important	Detrimental to Good Teaching
a. Anthology	14.9	20.6	42.5	19.9	2.1
b. Class sets of books	56.0	21.3	19.1	3.6	0.0
c. Classroom library	26.7	36.7	21.8	14.8	0.0
d. Sets of 7-8 books	19.0	30.3	40.1	10.6	0.0
e. Materials for slow readers	35.8	27.7	16.4	16.4	3.7
f. Books for mature readers	21.7	23.9	28.4	18.1	7.9
g. Workbooks	0.0	6.5	22.5	26.8	44.2
h. Language textbook	2.2	7.8	26.9	40.4	22.7
i. Handbook on language	5.0	15.0	33.6	37.1	9.3
j. Phonograph	24.1	31.2	36.2	7.8	0.7
k. Recordings	23.4	31.9	37.6	7.1	0.0
l. Filmstrip projector	10.7	10.7	37.2	39.3	2.1
m. Motion pictures	12.9	13.6	37.9	34.2	1.4
n. Teaching machine	2.3	3.8	13.7	57.3	22.9
o. Tape recorder	35.5	35.5	24.7	4.3	0.0
p. Television	7.2	13.6	52.1	25.7	1.4
q. Radio	5.7	21.4	53.6	18.6	0.7
r. Display table of periodicals	4.3	22.1	46.4	27.2	0.0
s. Class set of dictionaries	36.4	33.6	21.4	7.9	0.7
t. Moveable furniture	33.3	35.5	18.4	12.8	0.0
u. Clerical service	27.7	27.7	23.4	20.5	0.7
v. Duplicating machine	54.6	29.1	14.2	2.1	0.0
w. Overhead projector	2.9	8.6	35.3	52.8	1.4

APPENDIX B

OVERALL IMPRESSIONS OF OBSERVERS

Thomas W. Wilcox

Although intermittent reading of The Use of English over a number of years had given me some sense of British educational philosophy and professional attitudes, I was surprised by the doctrinaire progressivism expressed by Frank Whitehead, Harold Rosen, Denys Thompson and the others at the conference in London. I subsequently discovered that most of the programs they had selected for our inspection were imbued with that philosophy to some extent; my report must therefore consist of an evaluation of their faith and the pedagogical practices it inspires.

"Progressivism" seems the right word for their position, because it resembles nothing so much as our "progressive education" of the thirties. (As it happens, I myself am a product and sometime participant in that movement: I attended the Washburn schools in Winnetka, Illinois and later taught at Bennington, a "progressive" college.) Their efforts to liberate their students, to encourage spontaneous and fluent expression, and to eliminate artificial barriers are very familiar (though no less admirable for being so). Evidently the leaders of the London group feel strongly that their first goal as teachers of English must be to stimulate uninhibited oral or written response either to direct expereience or to literary representations of experience. They avoid -- and indeed decry -- formal studies such as grammar, rhetoric, linguisitcs, and literary history because they believe that attention to these matters may impede free expression, may distract the student or render him inarticulate. They say they are not interested in "correctness" or in nice critical distinctions: their aim is to generate a maximum of fresh, honest and humane verbalization.

No doubt this progressive impulse is best understood (1) as a reaction against the stultifying policies of Oxbridge and the examiners, and (2) as a manifestation of the general trend towards liberalization and democritization which is sweeping British education and which is most clearly expressed in the "comprehensivization" of their secondary schools. To an American observer all this may look a bit old hat. We no longer worry about stimulating free discussion in the classroom; if anything our students might stand a little more trammeling. Nor does some Higher Establishment -- say, a syndicate of Harvard, Yale and the College Board -- dictate what will be taught in our schools. Thus it is difficult for us to share the militant zeal for emancipation and reform which was expressed by the leaders in London and by young teachers we met in the field. Phrases like "fun and games," "throwing the baby out with the bath," and "mere anarchy" occur to us as we hear them speak, in part because we do not feel the urgency they feel, in part because we think we have passed through the phase they have just entered. I was very favorably impressed with certain individual manifestations of this revolutionary spirit I observed, however, and I think British education may benefit from this tonic.

For example -- Leonard Dean, J.N. Hook, and I attended a class at Bristol Grammar School in which a very energetic, highly articulate young instructor engaged a group of twelve year old boys in a really lively and effective discussion of poetry. He did this by reading aloud, dramatically and well, a portion of Masefield's poem about fox-hunting, then cajoling the students to amplify the text with information and imaginative matter of their own. All this was done extemporaneously, without paying any attention to such purely literary considerations as metrics or the history of the ballad. At the end several students asked, "Where can we get the rest of the poem?" It seemed to us that this young man was teaching poetry about as well as it could be taught at this level. And perhaps he could not have done so had he not abandoned some of the conventional approaches to his subject.

At another school, Leeds Modern (really a "grammar" school), I sat in on two classes on consecutive days in which a teacher (about 25 years old and in his first year) got his third form students to improvise playlets, first by discussing a "life situation" (parents scolding a child for something he hadn't done), then by asking them to dramatize such an event. The children proved fine mimics, as they usually do, and they displayed their improvisations unashamedly. If classes such as these persuade even a few boys that acting and exercising one's imagination are legitimate pleasures, they may have great educational benefits. It could be argued, moreover, that no amount of formal instruction in printed drama would accomplish as much.

It is difficult, however, to determine just how much these teaching methods do accomplish. I asked one little boy sitting next to me in a drama class at yet another school what he thought of the goings-on, and he said, "It's a bit of fun, isn't it?" If I interpret this critic's comments aright, he was saying that his class in English -- perhaps as distinguished from his other classes -- was pure recreation. Teachers of the London school might applaud this reaction; others might wish the student were afforded something more strenuous than "fun" -- say, a discussion on a very elementary level of how drama may grow out of religious ritual, with appropriate lore supplied by the teacher. In general, I had the feeling that the British teachers whose classes I observed overlooked opportunities to engage students by catering to their curiosity and their appetite for sheer lore. I witnessed one embarrassing class at the Bristol Grammar School in which the teacher was trying to sell Defoe's Journal of the Plague Year to a group of fifth-formers who were in open revolt (even though I was sitting in the back as a distinguished visitor). They claimed the book was boring, and he claimed it was good for them. I thought he might have made the text a good deal more interesting simply by surrounding it with intriguing information. But apparently this was not to be a class in literary history.

Or perhaps the teacher simply didn't have the necessary information in his memory and didn't have time to work it up. Even in the best schools I visited teachers confront five or six classes each day, and it is hard to see how they can be adequately prepared for all of them. One of the brightest teachers I met at Manchester Grammar School (said to be one of the most highly selective schools in England) confessed that he really couldn't prepare sufficiently for his classes with the sixth form, where students should be introduced to serious, well-informed interpretations of literature. The suspicion arises that these schools of relatively high prestige are spreading their bright but poorly paid instructors too thin -- which may be why the students sometimes seem smarter than their masters.

My most serious criticism of the programs we inspected concerns a disjunction which occurs right about in the middle of most of them and which seems to reflect an inability to reconcile disparate motives for teaching English. During the first two and a half or three years of secondary school the teachers we met seem to feel free to practice "progressive education," with emphasis on free expression, a more or less haphazard progression of classroom happenings, and a general avoidance of "academic" matter. It is here -- and only here, evidently -- that the London school's philosophy and methods prevail. With the beginning of the fifth and sixth forms a different type of teaching -- more training than teaching -- commences. Now the fun and games are over as students prepare for exams. Sixth formers themselves, veterans of this bifurcated program, expressed puzzlement or dissatisfaction with its discontinuity. Some said they didn't see why they were allowed to fool around during their early years; others wanted more opportunities to do creative writing during their later years. Some teachers thought the division between lower, undisciplined work and upper, substantive work was appropriate to the natural development and maturation of the child. Others simply admitted that they had not been able to correlate the two brands of instruction. This problem may solve itself or be obviated if and when the hated O and A level exams are modified or eliminated.

Certainly those exams and their influence are almost wholly bad. Copies of examination papers I read consisted mostly of stale, undirected questions of the worst kind: "Write an essay on one of the following: 'The Future of the Railway System' or 'What I like or Dislike about ______ (a Public Figure)'" [these from the O level exam]; or [these from the A level] "Discuss the Use of Environment in Sons and Lovers" or "Comment fully on the second scene of the second act of Julius Caesar."* Evidently the questions have to be general because the students come from such a variety of schools. The consequence is that the exams invite dull, generalized re-hashes of the matter teachers feel forced to cram into their students so that they may discuss the "set books" (for the A level exams) at sufficient length and with sufficient "official" insight.

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*These examples may not be perfectly accurate.

Not only are the exams themselves and the whole notion of setting the books to be read in secondary school English mistaken but the way in which students are prepared, the way classes in the prescribed works are conducted is, at best, disappointing. In most of the pre-A level classes I visited Antony and Cleopatra (certainly one of the last plays the examiners should have imposed on 16 year old students) was being studied. The discussion (often little more than a question and answer session) usually consisted of a tedious review of obvious points, most of them concerning distinctions among the characters of the play. Only occasionally was the class required to address the true complexity of the text; most of its time was devoted to establishing a "correct" reading of the play. I felt that the intellectual level at which these discussions were conducted was by no means as high as that which would probably be reached by a good freshman class in the United States (say, a class at Amherst, Wellesley, or Stanford). What was even more shocking was the brand of English being dispensed to sixth-formers who, being scientists, were not preparing for the A level exam in English. Apparently it is felt that these students cannot be expected to read whole works of literature because they must spend so much time cramming for their A level exams in science. At the Manchester Grammar School I endured one absolutely pointless class in King Lear in which a group of such "non-specialists" were asked to comment on the play before they had finished reading it!

To sum up very briefly, then, I would say that the influence of the London school and its philosophy seems most beneficial at the lower levels, where it does indeed make for better writing and a generally more humane educational environment. At the upper levels, however, that influence seems helpless against the much more powerful influence of the examination system, which is, of course, sanctioned and enforced by heavy social pressures.

Impressions on British School Visits

Leonard F. Dean

1. Physical

The older schools, from the slums of Vauxhall Manor Modern to the shoddy redbrick of Manchester and the fake Cathedral-style of Bristol, are disgraceful - cold, dirty, dim, and non-functional. At some point this ceases to be non-materialistic in the good sense and becomes a serious obstacle to education. And as usual, England gets the worst of it. At the grammar schools, only science classes and the headmasters are decently housed; elsewhere needlecraft is at the top and English at the bottom.

2. Curriculum

Incoherence leading to embarrassing and inadvertent repetition, lack of seeing a thing through, confusion in the minds of students, form given only by the O and A exams - this is the bad side. The good side is freedom for the teacher to use material that works for him and the students. The materials, especially the anthologies, are often good: done with taste and resourcefulness. And there is a fine absence of deadening workbooks and busywork.

3. Classroom Methods

There is much use, especially in schools in non-academic neighborhoods, of a McLuhanish non-verbal stimulus followed by "movement" or "creative" writing. I suppose that this is in some degree a reaction against forced grammatical study of the past, a necessity given the students' backgrounds; but it is not a complete virtue and needs inspection.

4. Staff

I saw remarkably fine teachers everywhere in all kinds of schools. Many of them read aloud with great skill and effectiveness. There is also rapid turnover, and the consequent difficulties of inexperience. The salaries are obviously too low.

5. Headmasters

A remarkable group, far superior to any high school principals I have known. The tone, quality, and staff of most of the schools I visited must be attributable in large measure to the headmasters.

6. Implications for U.S. High Schools

a) Hire better principals.

b) Hire teachers for merit rather than for labels, i.e., degrees, certificates, etc.

c) Blend curriculum coherence with freedom for teachers to choose and make materials. (This would eliminate the bad anthologies, workbooks, etc.)

d) More writing and less schoolmarmish grading or correcting.

e) Keep salaries high and our school plants superior.

Observations of the Teaching of English in British Secondary Schools

William M. Curtin

I was immediately struck by the schizophrenic nature of British secondary education. For the first four forms the students live in a world of expression: mime, improvised drama, oral reading, creative and personal writing. During the last three years (two forms) the students are subjected to an analytical approach to language and literature imposed in the school by the external examining boards--A level and O level. In two schools that I visited, a comprehensive and a secondary modern, the new CSE examination was being established. In my opinion the new examination as I saw it was a fairer and more comprehensive test of the student's use of language and knowledge of the literature than the O level exam. From my point of view the examination system is unnecessarily cruel in its social consequences. Permitting almost two thirds of the students to leave secondary education without some form of certification, some form of public recognition is to limit unnecessarily and severely the social mobility of the society.

Much good work is being done in the first four forms to give the average and below average intelligences in the schools a sense that the English language is not an instrument of a limited elite. The new emphasis on oral English and personal and creative writing seems to me to leave the students with a very real sense of confidence in expressing themselves, as well as a kind of skill that constant practice produces. I see this as an important part of the future of English study in Britain. There will necessarily have to be some sort of rapprochement worked out with the examining boards, though much is already achieved by using modern literature for the O level examinations. I do not know enough about our own external examinations for secondary students, so I will not venture to say that we can learn nothing from the O and A level exams. I will say, however, based on my memory of the New York State Regents exams, that I would certainly lament any external examination system which would inhibit and deaden the teaching of literature as I saw it taught so often in the fifth form under the pressure of the O level exams.

The effect of the A level exams is essentially a different matter because the students select English as a specialized subject and in fact are engaged chiefly in independent study, especially in the upper sixth. Besides a study of the set books, they engage in wide reading of other books by the author and secondary books as well. This kind of work is closer to our University sophomore honors course than to anything we would find in our high schools. Though the results of this intensive study are frequently admirable, I think that further general education (as in the Scottish system) would be better in secondary school, as in the case of "minority" English (literature for sixth form non-specialists as taught at Vyners School). An extension of general education would give the schools a chance to cover more literature than they can now. Obviously more of traditional literature is available for more students than some of the proponents of the new oral emphasis seem to think. Content need not necessarily inhibit the student's self expression. The radical shift that now occurs at the sixth form ought to end soon. Linguistic and cultural schizophrenia need not continue.

Whereas when I finished my observation of American high schools, I came away depressed by the inadequate handling of the lower track students, I left England with a much more positive feeling. On reflection I am convinced that the emphasis on oral English and creative and personal writing has much to teach American high school teachers, particularly teachers of the lower half of the student intelligence range. When I visited American schools, I was appalled by the teaching of the lower track students, and sometimes of the average students as well. The lower track students were taught best by teachers who were specialists in speech correction and/or remedial reading. Obviously not many teachers possessed such qualifications. In fact in the schools I visited and talked to other observers about the general practice was to assign some lower track students to each teacher. Most of the teachers complained that they were unequipped to do an adequate job. Certainly their performances were uninspired; no wonder the students did not respond.

In my opinion our high school teachers could do a much more competent job of teaching the lower track students if they were trained to teach the kind of oral and written expression that I observed in England. This is not to say that teachers of the lower track (indeed all teachers since all teach some lower track students) should not have training in such technical matters as speech correction and remedial reading. I only urge we recognize that these technical specialities need not form the core of training for teachers of lower track students. Indeed the British system suggests that one must primarily be an educated, humane person to teach those in the lower track. We now frighten our teachers when we emphasize the technical end of training for such students. The core of their training needs to create an awareness of the great variety and possibilities of language open even to the socially and intellectually deprived (short of the uneducable, of course). They would have to be taught a kind of patience and permissiveness that our emphasis on correctness (by contrast with the early years of British training, I mean) undermines. In short I am convinced that the goal of expressiveness which the new British teaching of English achieves and the way it is achieved could be a very valuable aid in helping to solve the gravest problem of American secondary education.

One issue in all this I am very uneasy about. Helping the underprivileged and underdeveloped to express themselves with a minimum of inhibition is not a substitute to teaching them critical thinking or providing them with knowledge. I would not like to see the lower track students become merely uninhibited, but still unable to improve their place in society to the best of their ability. I would not like to see this emphasis established if it were merely a way of maintaining social control. That is, I abhor the suggestion that the emphasis on oral English and creative and personal expression is just a way to keep the underprivileged and underdeveloped happy in their ignorance and poverty. They ought to be taught the conventions which are assumed by the society, but not at the expense of their self expression. I realize that the issue I raise is an old one in education, but I feel certain that the kind of teaching that I saw in Britain will help us to avoid the worst results of merely teaching expression.

For I am convinced that the teaching I saw was very often structured and intentional. Though the teachers worked by means of stimulation primarily, they very carefully moved from simple responses to complex ones, including, finally and frequently, some kind of writing. I would say that writing is better integrated into the course of study than in this country and is given more often (though corrected less strictly). I was also impressed by the attention given to the various usages of language: advertisements, propaganda, TV, newspapers and magazines, as well as books, of course. The emphasis was chiefly on meaning and intention in contemporary speech and writing, but with a sophisticated sense of the language in the teacher this often led to such subjects as symbolism (in films, for instance).

Finally, let me say a word about the teaching of literature in the British schools. The emphasis on a limited number of set texts is very radically different from our system. It has the advantage of close attention to the text and teaching the student to bring to bear upon one text different kinds of analysis. As I mentioned earlier, since the sixth form work is for specialists it offers little as a model for our schools. The fifth form teaching of literature from set books had the virtue, in my mind, of emphasizing modern literature and the relatively mature and complex contemporary problems and literary techniques these books make accessible to the students. Though I do think the British schools slight traditional literature (except Shakespeare) for all but the specialist, I am equally convinced that modern and contemporary literature is terribly neglected by American schools. I agree with the British attitude that helping the students to confront this literature is better than letting them find their way through it (as they will) under the "tutelage" of their peers.

Let me say at the end that I was especially impressed by the sense of positive direction that the British teachers of English felt they were taking. They were all working to make their society a more democratic one and they were all convinced that English was an important basis of the changes to be made. True, their society has a long way to go to have the democratic mobility that our own provides. Nonetheless, I was caught up in their enthusiasm and idealism. Too often I have the sense that in America we assume that the basic democratic ideals are possessed by everyone and that our educational ideals can be put into action by a little tinkering with the system. The "Sputnik" era has demonstrated, however, that more than tinkering is necessary for real progress. We need to make a similar effort for the education of the disadvantaged as we have made for the especially intelligent, creative, and talented. We need to use an institution such as University High School to make experiments in teaching lower track students much as we have for superior students. I feel certain that any such research would learn much about the teaching of English to disadvantaged students from the results of our study of British secondary schools.

British Schools: Successes and Question Marks

Jerry L. Walker

About forty first form boys charged into the small gymnasium, dropped their schoolbags near the door, kicked off their shoes, pulled off their socks, undid their ties, and rolled up their sleeves. The boys were followed by their teacher who, except for the depositing of the schoolbag, prepared himself similarly for class. While the boys milled around, the teacher readied the gramophone and record. That done, he summoned the boys and told them that for a few minutes they were to become tourists. After reminding them to remember what tourists acted like, the teacher clapped his hands as the signal to begin. Awkwardly and self-consciously, the boys mimicked tourists while the teacher looked on. After a short time, the teacher clapped his hands again, the signal to stop. When he clapped again, they were tobecome street merchants selling their wares. This time the boys were freer, more relaxed, less self-conscious; and as subsequent instructions were given to become old men, pickpockets, and policemen, they became more and more convincing.

At that point, the teacher summoned the boys around him again and counted them off, one through five. They were going to create a busy market scene. The ones were tourists; the twos, old men; the threes, pickpockets; the fours, street merchants; and the fives, policemen. The teacher told them that when he gave the signal to start, he would put on some music which would set the mood. The boys were told to remember that increases in the music's volume and tempo signified rising temperatures, and that when the music reached its peak, it would be unbearably hot.

With a clap, the boys were off. The music coming from the gramophone seemed to block out the last traces of self-consciousness, for the boys enacted as convincing a scene as this observer has ever witnessed. As the volume and tempo of the music increased, the boys began mopping their brows and slowing their movements, and before the music had ended, they were being pushed to the floor by the oppressive heat. When the music stopped, the boys remained on the floor--some of them so engrossed in what they had become that they had to be prodded back to reality. Even after the period had ended, some of them remained propped against the wall--too tired to move or too determined to express themselves.

I left the class wondering whether I had seen a gym class, a dance class, or a dramatics class. The teacher assured me I had seen an English class.

On another day, in another school, a teacher entered a classroom full of talking students, looked pensive for a few minutes (long enough to get the students' attention), and said, "Sun, moon, stars, and wind." With that, she retired to the side of the room. The boys and girls, knowing the lesson had been presented, began to do what they had obviously done many times before.

Some of them took out their exercise books and began writing; others began talking again to their seatmates; and others simply sat and thought for a long while before finally taking out their exercise books. Later, as the teacher began circulating around the room talking to individuals and looking at their work, I accompanied her. Some of them had written poems about the sun, moon, stars, or wind; others had written short descriptions of those natural phenomena or their feelings about them; one boy and one girl had drawn pictures of trees bending in the wind; and the remainder--

six, by count--had produced nothing. In every case, the teacher offered encouragement and understanding, never instruction.

When I spoke to the teacher afterward, she assured me that her lesson had been a success. The teacher's job, she said, is to provide a stimulus which will catch the imagination of most of the pupils and to encourage them in all forms of expression. She was not concerned that the expressions take the usual English classroom forms. Any expression is better than no expression at all, but she recognized the possibility that there would always be a few students who were not moved by the stimulus she provided on a given day. She would, perhaps, reach them the next day.

Those two classes are indicative of the most significant thing that's happening in British schools today: a conscious attempt to redefine the content of English and the role of the English teacher. From London to Kirkcaldy, the change was expressed in many ways. "If all the other teachers were doing their job, we wouldn't need to teach English." "Encouraging boys and girls to express themselves and helping them do that effectively are my jobs." "I don't like to talk to my pupils about what they are doing because it tends to inhibit them." "Any piece of literature written prior to World War II is obsolete and inappropriate for today's children." "Knowing grammar is useless." "I try never to read poetry to my pupils because that destroys it for them." "English bears a close relationship to modern dance and physical education." "Every English classroom should be equipped with a stage." "We need more emphasis on creative expression of every kind, especially creative writing and dramatics."

The change suggested by those statements is neither complete nor universal at this time, but it is rapidly sweeping through British schools. Some very traditional English teachers teaching some very traditional lessons can still be observed in England and particularly in Scotland where the whole system of education tends to be more conservative, more carefully controlled and articulated. Still, in all kinds of schools--secondary modern, comprehensive, and public--a strong sense of enthusiasm and determination behind the movement to free English teaching from its traditional book-bound limitations prevails. The same enthusiasm prevailed at the 1967 Conference of the National Association of Teachers of English in Bristol which was attended by national leaders and local teachers. Given five to ten years, the revolution, aided by the increasing number of comprehensive schools and the decreasing influence of the examination system, should be nearly complete, and the teaching of English should closely resemble what our American observers saw in several dozen selected schools.

The teaching of English in British schools is the teaching of creative response. Involvement in the creative act seems to be the primary goal. Neither the product nor the stimulus that gave rise to it receives much critical attention. The stimulus needs only to be appropriate to the concerns of the students, and the response needs only to be sincere. There is little of the American concern that the student know a lot about the material he works with or that he be able to respond in technically correct ways. Feeling and doing, not knowing, are the critical concerns. While the end product of the American educational system is the critic, the end product of the emerging British system is the artist.

It follows that subject matter is viewed differently. It is not something to be studied, memorized, and reproduced. Nor is it something that needs to have stood the traditional tests of time and universality. And, similarly, it does not have to be a model of technical perfection. Appropriate subject matter can be any piece of material, any situation, any experience, or any body of knowledge that is capable of arousing in students the desire to express themselves. The subject matter of English need not differ at all from the subject matter of any other discipline. The main difference between the English class and all the other classes seems to be mainly the emphasis placed on oral, written, and kinesthetic language responses.

With the subject matter of English viewed that way, British teachers feel no need to teach the classics, no need to teach the formal study of grammar, semantics, or the history of language, no need to present a chronological sampling of literature, no need to name the great writers of the past and present, and no need to categorize literature according to national origin, cultural epoch, or structural design. Except in preparation for O and A level exams, language and literature are seldom taught in the sense American teachers mean when they talk about teaching them, and even then there is more emphasis on informal understanding and appraisal than on formal knowledge and evaluation.

The subject matter of English seems to be considered especially inappropriate for a naming of parts. The concept check list which our American investigators hoped to use to determine the grade levels at which various language and literature concepts were introduced and taught had to be abandoned as a useful instrument in British schools. Teachers and students alike were baffled by it. Concepts taught regularly in American schools were unknown in British schools. There is little concern there for terminology and even less for fixing a point at which a concept should be taught.

Although one can disagree with and argue about the design of the program and the goals it was designed to meet, the final test of its success or failure must be student performance; and perhaps because the program

Murder in the Cathedral, the students were better than could be expected. Whether improvising a market scene, a trip on a crowded bus, or the Trial, Crucifixion, and Resurrection, the students were always convincing. Whether pantomiming a scene from Hamlet or the act of shaving, the students were always sensitive and precise. Similar performances by the majority of American secondary school students would almost certainly be marked by more self-consciousness and less conviction.

In spite of recognizing and rejoicing in those successes of the emerging English program in British schools, this observer returned home with many doubts about what he had seen. To relate a lesson which exemplifies the conditions which gave rise to the doubts is perhaps the best way to make them clear. The class began with the teachers' reading of a Ted Hughes poem about some animal. When the reading was finished, the teacher told the students to write a similar poem. After the boys and girls had taken out their exercise books and had begun writing, I circulated around the room with the teacher observing their progress. The teacher read each poem in progress and never failed to give an encouraging word. Never, however, did she give any advice or concrete suggestions for improving the poems. At one point, I stopped and talked to one boy who had produced two very good couplets out of a total of six. By pointing out how good I thought those two couplets were, by asking him to compare those couplets with the others as to rhythm, imagery, and length, and by suggesting possible ways that he could better unify the form with the content, the boy finally produced a poem that he was extremely pleased with and one that he was extremely anxious to read to the class. Though I had interfered in a way with his creative process, he was pleased.

What the teacher had failed to do raises many questions. What the teacher did raises questions, too. What will be the final result of the

Another notable success is the freedom of British students to express themselves orally. Our American observers were told repeatedly that English students do not communicate effectively with their peers and teachers and that oral communication was probably the primary goal of the English program. Classroom interviews and observation, however, nearly always showed the students' oral discourse to be marked with the same freedom and fluency that characterized their writing even though the intrusion of foreigners sometimes had a dampening effect. When asked what things they liked best about their school's English program, the students nearly always cited the freedom they had to express themselves in the classroom. Ample evidence of that freedom was provided when one observer heard a student call a teacher by his first name and suggest that he hadn't washed behind his ears that morning and when another observer was asked during a question and answer session about birth control pills and his wife's experiences with them. Whatever problems the English had with oral communication seemed to be more a matter of dialectal differences than oral fluency.

A third notable success is the amount of physical involvement British teachers manage to provide through acting, pantomime, role playing, and creative dramatics. All of our American observers were struck by the heavy emphasis on the various forms of drama and by the ease and facility demonstrated by the students in exploring them. The tradition of British excellence in drama seems to have made a major impact on the English curriculum. Acquiring a stage or mummery for the English department was always found to be high on the list of priorities of teachers working in schools without one.

The excellence of the students' dramatic performances was always impressive. Whether performing The Caucasian Chalk Circle, Macbeth, or

Murder in the Cathedral, the students were better than could be expected. Whether improvising a market scene, a trip on a crowded bus, or the Trial, Crucifixion, and Resurrection, the students were always convincing. Whether pantomiming a scene from Hamlet or the act of shaving, the students were always sensitive and precise. Similar performances by the majority of American secondary school students would almost certainly be marked by more self-consciousness and less conviction.

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What the teacher had failed to do raises many questions. What the teacher did raises questions, too. What will be the final result of the tendency many British teachers demonstrated to by-pass the students' skill limitations, as exemplified by that teacher's reading of the poem? Lesson after lesson was observed in which the teacher read to students because they weren't able to read the material easily. Isn't it possible to work on improving a skill such as reading without destroying the emphasis on idea? Many English students have reading problems, but few teachers do any direct teaching of reading skills. Instead, they by-pass the difficulties. Is that one of the reasons for the limited amount of reading British students do?

Shouldn't more time be given to studying the stimulus used to provoke a writing experience? Wouldn't greater understanding of Ted Hughes' poem and the techniques employed in it give the students greater control over their own creations? Can't knowledge of form generate new content possibilities? Can't one learn from another? Most of the British teachers this observer talked to responded negatively to those questions. They frequently denied the possibility of a student's learning anything of value to him through the study of another's writing. For that reason, they usually used literature to stimulate writing and speaking activities but seldom referred back to the literature after it was read.

Finally, that lesson raises questions about the teacher's role. Should the teacher give only uncritical praise and encouragement? Can't he help a student evaluate his work? Can't he show a student how to find a more perfect expression of an idea without destroying the creative desire? Shouldn't he force a student to go beyond earlier creative attempts by presenting increasingly complex stimuli and by establishing increasingly higher standards of achievement? Without instruction, won't only a few students produce fine work while many produce bad work? Doesn't creativity depend in part on knowledge of the tools available to work with?

Perhaps those are questions that have already been answered by past failures, or perhaps they are relevant only to an American concerned with discipline and with ordering the world to his own liking. Given the history of the British school system and the political and social forces which play upon it today, there are perhaps more important questions to be answered. And perhaps the changing practices observed in British schools represent a charade of freedom which would be destroyed by too rigorous a concern for discipline. And perhaps even time won't tell.

Observations of British Schools

James C. Lyon

The trip to the Old World certainly opened an entirely new world for this observer. The differences between the American system of education and the British system were, in most respect, dramatic indeed.

The headmaster of a British school is obviously the ruler of his educational kingdom. He has absolute control of the organization and administration of his school and is able to function without local political or parental pressure. He hires, schedules, disciplines--rules!

Paradoxically, the headmaster--in spite of the magnitude of his authority--has little control over staff tenure once a teacher has been hired. There seems to be no machinery available for the dismissal of a teacher who is incompetent.

The individual teacher is not supervised, at least in the American sense of the word. Department chairmen and headmasters alike respect the "sanctity" of an individual teacher's classroom and it is unthinkable to them to observe a class without an invitation from the teacher.

The role of the departmental chairman is certainly not comparable to that of his American counterpart. For the most part, the chairman is a teacher. He has few if any administrative duties. He can write a syllabus, act as an advisor to his staff, and in some schools schedule teaching assignments, but for the most part he is a classroom teacher. The chairman of a department is paid nearly twice as much as a regular teacher.

The British teacher shows little interest in professional activities outside the classroom. He is not a joiner. Few of the teachers I interviewed were members of NATE and several were adamant in their refusal to consider joining the organization. The administrator does not encourage teacher participation in professional organizations. There is not much money set aside for participation in meetings, workshops, etc. In fact, there are few such in-service activities available to the teacher. NATE offers some meetings and the education authority offers "courses" but these do not seem to be well attended.

There is an obvious shift of emphasis in classroom work between the fourth and fifth forms. In the first four forms the emphasis is on the child's social development. There is little academic stress in the lower forms. In the fifth and sixth forms, however, the curriculum is concerned with matters of a highly academic nature, probably because of the pressures of the external examinations.

Creative dramatics make up the bulk of work in the lower forms. The students are often given situations which they are to expand into dramas, either in mime or orally. Student work in this area is astounding. Creative dramatics is one of the most interesting and potentially profitable endeavors in the British schools. I question, however, whether such nearly total emphasis is good. While American schools obviously do too little with dramatics, I wonder if the British schools do too much.

Once a student enters the fifth form, his work becomes almost totally academic. The O and A level exams, given at the end of the fifth and sixth forms, dictate the course of study for any given year. The student studies set books, most often in great detail, and the "college-bound" pressure mounts for the first time.

At first glance, the external exams would seem to be the "ogre" of the British educational system. However, there are at least two ways in which the system benefits from the tests. First, since the tests are based on set books, the pressure created by the tests do not appear until the fifth form; therefore, there is great flexibility in the curriculum in forms one through four. Second, the set books change each year so the curriculum in the upper forms does not become stagnant.

New external testing agencies are coming into existence in Great Britain. With the increase in tests, the expansion of the university system, and the movement in the secondary level to comprehensive schools, there is a lessening of concern for the tests themselves. Still, it is the test results which greatly affect the reputation of the school, and this would be one of my chief criticisms of the system.

The British curriculum, at least at the secondary level, does not provide for the teaching of English as a language. There are no grammar courses, no studies of the history of the language. In fact, the schools seem to avoid the issue, if they even admit that an issue exists. The only time language is "studied" is in brief "units" on advertising when semantics becomes a topic for discussion.

Media study seems not part of the English curriculum in Great Britain.

Literature is not taught from a historical, generic, or critical point of view, especially in the lower forms.

Composition, at least as a skill, is not taught in the British secondary school. Students do, however, write quite a lot. Most of the writing is basically creative, and there is little expository writing or critical analysis in the strict sense done in the schools. Even though "composition" is not taught, the students write eagerly and well. The students' efforts are not graded as they would be in an American school. Grammatical errors are seldom marked and almost no critical comments are made on the paper; most teacher comments are in the nature of praise. The teacher feels that by not filling a paper with critical comments and marks and by not requiring laborious revision, he can encourage the student to write more and better composition. It looks as though the idea may be working.

There are two distressing aspects of the British schools. The teachers are terribly overworked and the libraries are terribly inadequate.

An individual teacher will meet seven different classes in an eight-period day--a total of 200+ students. He will typically teach five or even six different forms. The lower form classes will contain 30 to 40 students each and the sixth form will have ten to fifteen students. The lack of preparation and sequence in the curriculum in the lower form may be at least partly due to the fantastic load the teacher has to carry. The first through fourth forms have no tests; therefore, the teacher's efforts in preparation are centered on upper forms.

The libraries are terribly small, poorly organized, and are run by part-time librarians if, indeed, the school has any scheduled librarian. More often than not, a staff member takes the library as an added responsibility and the library is supervised by upper-form students. In only two schools I observered were there trained librarians on the staff.

Most libraries are not really open to lower form students. Only fifth and sixth form students are allowed in the library during school hours. Lower form students are allowed the use of the library facilities before school or at lunch.

Library budgets are meager--less than $600 per year for books and supplies. As a result, libraries are small with only 3,000 to 5,000 volumes and very few periodicals.

In so many ways the British schools are exciting, and the results the schools are achieving in composition and oral skills certainly should be studied closely for possible adaptation to the English curriculum in American schools. The movement toward comprehensive schools and the ensuing "battles" will be interesting to watch and certainly deserve continued observation.

Impressions of Seven British Schools

J. N. Hook

The seven schools I visited included one "public" school (Marlborough), two grammar schools (Vyners and Bristol), and four comprehensive (Vauxhall Manor, Thomas Bennett, Wandsworth, and Lawrence Weston). Hence they provide something of a cross-section of the schools in this study. It is very doubtful, though, that they represent a true cross-section of all British secondary schools because of the way they were chosen. They are in the vanguard of British education in English; the majority of schools would almost certainly be more traditional.

An initial impression of great diversity among the seven schools gradually changes to one of considerable uniformity, despite the fact that the pupils served vary greatly from school to school. Whether the school is in the slums of London or in the pleasant semi-rural setting of Marlborough, the goals and the procedures tend to be much alike.

Basically the emphasis in the first four years in all the schools is on improvement of oral English and on creativity. The literature diet in these years, though some "classic" works are sprinkled through, tends to be rather sparse. Most of the selections read are from the twentieth century and preferably pieces written since 1950 or 1960; many are mere transitory pieces concerning a trip to Cincinnati or the emotions of a young boxer. These tend to be read with little attention to literary characteristics; the discussion centers on the characters and what happened to them, with a few comments on word meaning and an occasional remark about style. Only in the hands of a few very good teachers is one selection related to another.

Typically the literature in these four years is read aloud by the teacher; most British teachers read extremely well, with more dramatics (ham or otherwise) than American teachers usually permit themselves. Sometimes the children also read aloud, especially when the selection is a play, where unprepared role-reading is common. This method of treating literary works is, of course, part of the strong emphasis on "oracy": literature is something to be heard, not just seen on the page.

Oracy also involves other kinds of work, or play. Miming and improvisation go on day after day in classes in the first four years. Typically the teacher provides a starter, which may be a literary selection, a newspaper clipping, a picture, a piece of music, or a student's composition. Then the children work in groups to decide what story they are going to act out, and they present their performance before the class, improvising as they go. The children are usually completely involved in this activity; they like it and seem never to become bored. Perhaps one reason is that it enables them to move around instead of sitting quietly on the hard seats in the invariably cold classroom.

As another but minor part of oracy, children often read aloud their compositions, which are commented on by their classmates. In a few classrooms there are planned oral expositions as well.

Most of the writing in the first four years is creative rather than expository, with poems and short stories the most frequent forms, followed closely by dramatic skits. The poems are often no more than prose broken into irregular lines, though occasionally a good image finds its way in. The short stories, a page or two in length, ordinarily deal with imaginary adventure.

Correctness is definitely not an obsession in these schools. Spelling and punctuation errors are sometimes marked, but by no means uniformly. Problems in sentence structure are seldom commented upon.

Formal study of grammar and usage is almost unknown. I saw no workbooks, and there was little indication that textbooks in grammar and usage are used more than sporadically if at all.

A change of emphasis, often very abrupt, sets in with the fifth form. This is induced largely by the pressure of examinations. In England one's whole future career may be dependent on the number of O level and/or A level examinations one has passed; newspaper advertising of positions open often specifies the minimum requirements. Hence fifth- and sixth-year work in most schools is planned with the primary purpose of getting the children to pass as many examinations as possible.

In some schools, oral work and creativity stop suddenly with entry into the fifth form; in others, the transition is more gradual. Ordinarily the selections studied become more literary, and the writing tends to be on literary topics. Sometimes the essays are little more than summaries of a work, but more often they are character analyses (supported by reference and quotation) or answers to such questions as "What attention to national problems do you find in Middlemarch?" The class work in literature still includes much reading aloud, by teacher and pupils; sometimes it is a line-by-line explication (as in one school doing a Chaucer tale); infrequently it is class discussion of the sort one is likely to find in the States.

The literature read in the upper years is taught in no visible sequence, though an attempt is made to include poetry, drama, and the novel in each term. D. H. Lawrence and Shakespeare are both very big; below them one may find almost anyone. I observed classes working with Chaucer, Jonson, Milton, Wordsworth, Browning, and a host of moderns of varying reputation. American literature is not taught as American; it is taught simply because it is a good book. Hemingway, Steinbeck, and Frost are the names I met most often, but teachers and pupils referred to large numbers of others.

By and large, I found the quality of writing not much different from that in American schools, though on occasion it was a bit more vivid and perhaps more precise in diction, probably because of the large amount of early work in creative writing.

Other brief observations:

1. Much interest in films, including film production in a number of schools.
2. Much analysis of advertising, including the writing of advertising. This represents the chief way of teaching logic.
3. Précis writing, especially in the upper forms, because précis writing is still demanded in examinations.
4. No censorship problems; free discussion of sex; a much more mature attitude than in American schools.
5. Drama almost always acted, with barest of preliminaries.

What can Americans learn from the British? I'd summarize in this way:

1. The oral approach is especially good with children from poor backgrounds. It gets them to talking, it gives them a feeling of belonging, it makes English interesting to them, it affords a change of pace. It is time-wasting when used excessively with brighter children, as it often is in British schools.
2. The emphasis on creative writing is praiseworthy. Americans, I believe, err in stressing expository writing so greatly, especially with young children.

3. Americans can also avoid making certain mistakes that in my opinion the British make. One is the near-planlessness of much of the British work: within a scanty syllabus only a few booklists serve as guides to procedure. Some sort of middle ground between near-anarchy and excessive structure appears desirable. Another error is submitting to the tremendous pressure of examinations imposed from outside. A third is the almost complete lack of attention to the English language--its structure, its history, its dialects, its relation to other languages.
4. The openness of all subjects for class consideration is desirable. American schools are prurient about sex. The English discuss it openly as one of the ingredients of life; they treat it as a matter of interest comparable to politics or geography or athletics--a basically wholesome attitude.
5. I wish that American teachers could learn to read aloud as well as many British teachers do. This skill is especially useful in teaching poetry and drama.

In general, I should say that my observation tends to verify the hypotheses advanced for this study. One that I am uncertain about, though, is whether teachers in other departments require much expository writing: in some schools this appears to be true, but I could gather little definite evidence.

Impressions of British Schools

Robert F. Hogan

It is virtually impossible to define English as a subject for study in British secondary schools if one of the conditions for such definition be that English is distinguished from other subjects as, for example, geography is distinct from physics. Surely it is reading, writing, speaking and listening. But it is also, at times, "expression" extending even to include modern dance. In a few schools it also includes literature and the literary tradition, while in other schools it includes only "books," but not literature as such.

One of the amazing features is the authority of the headmaster who, as far as one can tell, is answerable to no one. At the same time, the individual teachers are barely answerable to him. Once they have completed a year's probationary teaching, they are awarded a tenure-like condition which is virtually unbreakable. In this complex, the role of the department chairman is a peculiar one. There is no question but that he is highly prized within this system. Indeed, the English head can make as much as one-third extra per year for carrying that responsibility. But, at the same time, he may have virtually no direct authority over his own teachers. He can, and often does, write the syllabus for the department. But whether it is followed or not is a matter of chance and the personality of the chairman. There is nothing in his role as such which assures compliance.

The only part of the syllabus that is followed almost to the letter is that covering the fifth and sixth forms. But here the force comes from the prospect of the examinations which themselves determine the syllabus.

Another striking feature is the social mission that underlies virtually all efforts to reform teaching of English. Here in the U. S. most of the effort has come from colleges and universities and from other persons interested in strengthening the academic programs for students. There the principal thrust on English is to insure or to attempt to achieve maximum personal development for the child and to restrict college preparation to the last two years of high school and here only for students likely to go to college. In the United States it is apparent or alleged that the advanced placement program has long had a trickle-bound impact on lower grades and courses for other kinds of students. This was clearly part of the rationale behind the work of the Commission on English. But there is no evidence in any of the schools that I visited of such a trickle-down impact there. That is, the content of the fifth and sixth form program is totally insulated from the rest of the English program.

Within the curriculum there is a noticeable and sudden shift of gears in the fifth form as they settle down to preparing for the examinations. The masters drive the students hard and the students respond by working hard. Moreover, there seems to be a kind of kinship between students and masters as they both face the same common and seemingly anonymous enemy - the external examinations.

This is not to say that the impact of the examinations is uniformly bad. For one thing, they lead to a constant refreshing of content in the last two years. There is nothing in the English program that anywhere near resembles the holding power of, say, Silas Marner or Macbeth in the United States. Moreover, they insure in the last two years at least some protection from total anarchy. Given the "free form" curriculum they have in the lower forms, and English teachers who are virtually immune from any outside authority, in the lower forms the range of possibilities, including the possibility of sheer madness, is amazing.

Another striking feature is the immunity of the schools from local pressures. Only one of the headmasters whom I interviewed had ever even heard of a censorship problem and this was from a remote school that he had just heard about. The headmasters do not even dream of such a problem occuring and, if it did, they seem to have no doubt at all about their capacity for handling the situation and for disposing of the complaint. Indeed, in the situation as it now exists there, the testing agencies can set for an external examination a book like Lord of the Flies which some American schools have trouble keeping even in the closed stacks of the school library.

Noticeable was the lack of interest in or opportunity for or encouragement for inservice education. The best that most teachers hope for is the chance to take a short course during one of the holidays. Released time to take part in professional activities seems almost unthought of. The universities, apart from short courses, offer only year-long, full-time programs and these with few openings.

The profession seems bifurcated, if not schizoid in at least one respect. There is both money and prestige attached to persons who graduate from university with honors degree. Indeed, these are the only teachers who are allowed to teach fifth and sixth form classes. At the same time, at least in the comprehensive schools, there is a lurking suspicion about the English specialist. This is apparent not only in that many other teachers are borrowed part time to teach English classes. Such an arrangement stems not, as it often does in the United States, from a last minute expediency or the need to fill in somebody elses program. Rather, it grows out of the condition that too many specialists on a single faculty are a threat to the new educational program as it is envisioned. Indeed, in more than one school where they knew they were to have an English vacancy next year, the headmaster was deliberately setting out to find a non-specialist - and one of these as a department of 21 full and part time teachers, among them only six had specialized in English at the university.

An American-type concern for sequence in the curriculum is apparent only in the specialized area of dance and creative expression. There most of the specialists seem to agree that the work ought to begin with simple movement, followed by mime, followed by creative drama. In the literature program there was a kind of rudimentary awareness that some books "go down" better in some forms than in others. But beyond this, there was no awareness of or concern about sequence as such. Certainly there wasn't even the faintest notion of sequence in cognitive development.

There was an occasional awareness that the zeal for the new, experience-centered English program may be at the expense of, say, usage and spelling, which become pretty mundane stuff under direct teaching. But this awareness was rarely transformed into any operational concern except among a very few teachers, and perhaps these few were chiefly unreconstructed survivors from the old curriculum.

Visits to British Schools

Priscilla Tyler

All empire-ambition spent, British teachers pour their full measure of energy into a new arduous kind of education, arduous because it emphasizes values more than subject matter, values like imagination, sensibility, engagement, humanism. Because they show so little interest in structures of subject matter, their ways seem strange to American observers. Because they teach slum children the values of the imagination and the aesthetics of the livelier arts, their ways seem impractical to us. Intangible as the program seems, young teachers all over England are mastering its tenets and teaching with great enthusiasm and great energy. By their teaching, they bring into being a new kind of Englishman, made strong by his sensitivities, and an English society made unified by its imaginative holds on experience and a broadly conceived humanism. British classroom teachers will soon become as interesting and challenging to American education as the Beatles have long been to American youth.

The philosophy expressed in this book characteristically takes the form in English classes of activities emphasizing and interrelating dramatics, speech, writing, the arts (especially the livelier arts). For example, at Priesthorpe Comprehensive High School near Leeds, I observed a group of over a hundred pupils: first, listening to a story told them with a symphony recording accompaniment; then, in groups of three, pantomiming the story as they listened, this time only to music. The room in which they assembled looked like a massive frug, with each child acting out his role as he half-imagined it, half-heard it. Such imagination-stretching exercises encourage the easy interrelating of imagination, experience and language. Wording is empty, they feel, without an imagined experience as its source, and the imagined experience is empty in another sense without the worded life to support and fulfill it.

The English teachers of Britain are more dramatic, more psychological, more artsy more ready to teach a melange of subjects than American teachers, and also more ready to accept contemporary culture in academia. For example, they welcome the worded affluence brimming over into their classrooms from films, TV, radio, newspapers, magazines, advertisements. They feel that in this popular verbal culture, school-learning and community-learning most readily meet. They encourage appreciation of the lively arts, particularly, therefore, in schools whose many early dropouts must get the major part of their education from the non-academic community. Moreover, because these mass media are accessible to all members of the national society, general responsiveness to them can be an important bond uniting all members and all groups in the society. Not only do the teachers present mass media as a culture-in-common related to individual and national development, but they emphasize also the kinds of "command of language" which the various media require and draw inferences there from as to how pupils can best use language.

Most important to the pupil in an intimate, personal sense is the writing he does in his journal. His writing journal is the symbol of both his developing selfhood and his increasing power to participate in a life-in-common through language. It is also the objective sign of the continuity of his English course during a semester. Pupils write frequently and willingly in these journals sometimes about assigned topics, often not.

They use various forms: poems, stories, letters, personal essays, persuasive arguments, advertisements, graffiti of various sorts. David Osbourne of the Priesthorpe School said the measure of excellence in a written piece is the "engagement" it shows, that is, the close relationship that a student has entered into with his language and his experience. Another teacher at the same school said that closure in writing, as in other activities, comes with public performance. A pupil gauges that he has written or rewritten a theme sufficiently when it gets posted on the bulletin board, printed in the class magazine, read aloud to or shared in silent readings by other members of the class. With "engagement" the new sign of excellence, teachers experiment with new categories of prose.

The emphasis on "engagement" also brings some teachers to speak of "real English" and "non-English." "Real English" is the study of language as the major instrument of the imagining and humanistic man who knows how to make words work "for mortal stakes." "Non-English" is the study of language as a set of conventions and is associated with conventionalism and non-relevant standards of social prestige. They do not exclude but give low priority, therefore, to grammar as a set of conventions and downplay spelling because they consider it mainly a matter of conventions. They suggest that to give training in secretarial-type language skills is not a major responsibility of society and should be left to the apprenticeship training programs of businesses which require workers with such skills. Conventional uses of conventional English have little to do with what these men most want to teach. They want most to teach the word-supported, strong imagination which can find ways of being constructively responsive to any experience. They want their pupils to have the powers, if necessary, to take over an Auschwitz, to beat back a brainwashing or shrug off an end-of-empire malaise. They connect education with finding new sources for national strength and pride. They want their pupils to connect education with finding new sources for personal strength and pride. As they do, the class will be one in "real English."

APPENDIX G

SCHOOLS COOPERATING IN THE STUDY

ENGLAND

Churchfields Comprehensive School
Church Vale, West Bromwich
Staffordshire
J. J. Bassett, Headmaster
Anthony Adams, Chairman

King Edward VII School
Glossop Road
Sheffield 10
R. Sharrock, Headmaster
Mr. Axford, Chairman

Gleadless Valley Secondary School
Matthews Lane, Sheffield
G. M. Hughes, Headmaster
Harry Whitehouse, Chairman

David Lister High School
Rustenburg Street
Kingston Upon Hull, Yorkshire
A. W. Rowe, Headmaster
Raymond White, Chairman

Keighley Girls' Grammar School
Greenhead Road, Keighley
Yorkshire
Miss J. A. Evans, Headmistress
Miss Peggy Jones, Senior English Mistress

Mount Pleasant County School
Mount Street, Huddersfield
Yorkshire
G. White, Headmaster
William Spouge, Chairman

St. Wilfrid's Roman Catholic School
Cutsyke Road, N. Featherstone
Pontefract, Yorkshire
B. V. Bruynseels, Headmaster
David Smart, Chairman

Hatfield County Secondary School
Ash Hill, Hatfield
Doncaster, Yorkshire
F. Colley, Headmaster
Malcolm Driver, Chairman

Leeds Modern School
Lawnswood, Leeds 16
Yorkshire
F. Holland, Headmaster
Robert Shaw, Chairman

Priesthorpe Secondary School
Priesthorpe Lane, Pudsey
Farsley, Yorkshire
B. K. Strong, Headmaster
David Osborne, Chairman

Colne Valley High School
Linthwaite, Huddersfield
Yorkshire
T. S. Rolfe, Headmaster
Geoffrey Bamford, Chairman

Manchester Grammar School
Manchester 13
P. G. Mason, Headmaster
B. A. Phythian, Chairman

Lawrence Weston School
Stile Acres, Lawrence Weston
Bristol
C. D. Poster, Headmaster
Miss Hissey, Chairman

Bristol Grammar School
Bristol 8, Gloucestershire
J. Mackay, Headmaster
J. Hunter, Chairman

Marlborough College
Marlborough, Wiltshire
J. C. Dancy, Headmaster
Ian Davie, Chairman

Senacre Secondary School
Maidstone, Kent
N. H. Evans, Headmaster
E. M. Thatcher, Chairman

The Perse Boys School
19 Glebe Road
Cambridge
S. Stubbs, Headmaster
K. Barry, Senior English Master

Cambridgeshire County High School for Girls
Long Road, Cambridge
Miss R. Brookes, Headmistress
Miss Turner, Chairman

Ipswich Northgate Grammar School for Boys
Sidegate Lane, Ipswich, Suffolk
N. Armstrong, Headmaster
Peter Hewitt, Chairman

Bacton Modern School
Stowmarket, Bacton, Suffolk
A. Percival, Headmaster
Mr. Martin, Chairman

Abbey Wood Comprehensive School
Eynsham Bridge, Eynsham Drive
London S.E. 2
Mrs. Y. B. Zackerwich, Headmistress
George Robertson, Chairman

Crown Woods School
Riefield Road
Eltham, Kent
M. K. Ross, Headmaster
Michael Marland, Chairman

Wandsworth Boys Comprehensive School
Sutherland Grove, Southfields
London S.W. 18
A. E. Howard, Headmaster
Keith Newsom, Chairman

Thomas Calton Secondary School
Adys House, Adys Road
London S. E. 15
G. K. Green, Headmaster
Mr. Gibson, Chairman

Walworth Secondary School
Shorncliffe Road
London S.E. 1
Peter Brown, Headmaster
Alex McCord, Chairman

Vauxhall Manor Secondary School
Lawn Lane, London S.W. 8
Miss E. M. Hoyles, Headmistress
Mrs. Tynan, Chairman

Thomas Bennett School
Ashdown Drive, Tilgate
Crawley, Sussex
P. E. Daunt, Headmaster
J. Davis, Chairman

Vyners School
Warren Road, Ickenham
Uxbridge, Middlesex
T. F. Jaggar, Headmaster
D. B. Rees, Chairman

St. Christopher School
Letchworth, Hertfordshire
N. King, Headmaster
Peter Scupham, Chairman

Sevenoaks School
Sevenoaks, Kent
L. C. Taylor, Headmaster
John Adams, Chairman

The Haberdasher Aske's School
Elstree, Hertfordshire
John Taylor, Headmaster
D. M. Fitch, Chairman

SCOTLAND

George Watson's Ladies College
5 George Square
Edinburgh 8
Miss H. Fleming, Headmistress
Robert Millar, Chairman

The Royal High School
Regent Terrace
Edinburgh
B. Ruthven, Rector
Alexander Forsythe, Chairman

Kirkcaldy High School
Oswald Road, Kirkcaldy
Fife
R. M. Adam, Rector
James Hamilton, Chairman

Templehall Secondary School
Templehall Avenue, Kirkcaldy
Fife
J. Stuart, Head Teacher
James T. Calderhead, Chairman

St. Pius' Secondary Roman Catholic School
45 Cally Avenue
Glasgow W.5
Neil McCarry, Headmaster
Mr. McGrath, Chairman

Fortrose Academy
Fortrose, Ross-shire
W. D. MacPhail, Headmaster
Alex MacKenzie, Chairman

Golspie High School
Golspie, Sutherland
John MacPherson, Headmaster
M. M. Grant, Chairman

WALES

Caernarvon Grammar School
Caernarvon
J. Ivor Davies, Headmaster
Alan Hobson, Chairman

Bishop Gore Grammar School
Delabeche Road, Sketty
Swansea, Glamorgan
E. Leslie Evans, Headmaster
Mr. Jewell, Chairman

Sandfields Comprehensive
County School
South Down View
Port Talbot, Glamorgan
R. J. Williams, Headmaster
Mrs. Davis, Chairman

INSTRUMENTS USED IN THE STUDY

Instrument No. 1

Headmaster's Questionnaire

Name of School ______________________________ Headmaster/mistress ________________

Note: It might be that some of the following questions, as stated, are not appropriate to your school. If there is additional related information that is significant because of the unique qualities of your situation, please add notes as necessary.

1. Please tick (✓) the following items that describe your school:

Maintained _____
Independent _____
Direct Grant _____

Comprehensive/Multi-lateral _____
Secondary Modern _____
Secondary Technical _____
Grammar _____

2. What is the total pupil enrollment? ______________________________

3. What was the size of last year's 6th form? ______________________________

4. What is the basis of selection to your school? Is there an eleven plus examination? If so, what does it consist of? ______________________________
____
____
____
____

5. To which examining board does your school belong?

_____ GSE
_____ GCE
_____ Other (please specify: ______________)

6. On the basis of the following scale of occupations, will you indicate an approximate profile of your pupils' families?

Professional and managerial occupations . . . . ____%

Highly-skilled occupations . . . . ____%

Semi-skilled occupations, including minor "white collar" occupations . . . . ____%

Rural or agricultural occupations . . . . ____%

Unskilled or slightly skilled occupations "working class" occupations, unskilled domestics, waitresses, etc. . . . . . . ____%

7. Pupils attending your school came from areas that are best described as primarily: (Please rank by number, i.e., 1 for the largest proportion; 2 for next largest)

a. Urban residential ______
b. Urban industrial ______
c. Urban commercial ______
d. Suburban residential ___
e. Suburban industrial ___
f. Suburban commerical ___
g. Scattered over entire towns (larger than 5,000) ___
h. Small town or village (under 5,000) ___
i. Rural-Farm ___
j. Other ___
(please specify) ____________

8. What is the average number of years of teaching experience of your staff at this school? ____________________

How many teachers are on your staff? ______________

9. How many new teachers were appointed this year? __________ Last year? ________

Were these replacements or additions? ______________________________

10. How long are class periods? ____ minutes. Number of instructional periods per day? ____ How many school days per year? ______days.

11. How many of your teachers have fewer than three years of experience? ________

12. As a matter of policy or practice, how much homework is assigned per day at the following form levels:
4th form _____ hours
5th form _____ hours
6th form _____ hours

13. Are your pupils differentiated into streams, groups, or sets?
If so, how are they differentiated? ______________________________

____

____

14. Does your school provide for acceleration of very able students? __________
If so, how is such acceleration provided? ______________________________

____

____

15. Is your school used for teaching practice by intending teachers in training?
____ Yes ____ No

16. Please identify the characteristics of your school that seem to contribute most to its successful English work and rank in their order of importance.

____

____

____

____

____

Instrument No.2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR HEADMASTER/MISTRESS

School ____________________ Headmaster ____________________
Address ____________________ Interviewer ____________________

I. HEADMASTER'S BACKGROUND

1. How long have you been Headmaster of this school? ____________________

2. What degrees do you hold? ____________________

   Briefly, what has been your teaching and administrative experience?
   ____________ years teaching ____________ (field)
   ____________ years administration ____________ (type)

II. DEPARTMENT STRUCTURE AND TEACHERS

3. As you view your position as Headmaster at ____________________, what is your most important responsibility?

   Will you describe briefly the extent to which you directly supervise instruction?

4. How are teachers recruited for your school?

   Where do most come from? (Oxford, Cambridge, London, provincial, training college.)

5. What problems have you encountered in the last few years in staffing the English department?

6. What support - financial or other - are teachers given to attend conferences or meetings? To what extent do teachers take advantage of these incentives?

I. OBJECTIVES AND STUDENT BODY

7. What is the range of general ability among pupils in your school?

II. ENGLISH CURRICULUM

8. In the whole context of your school program, how would you rank the English department? (top--middle--towards the bottom) Why? Would the same have been true 5 years ago?

9. Whom do you consider to be the outstanding teachers in the English department and for what reason?

10. What do you feel is the most important function of English? (e.g., primarily a service function? a forum of ideas? a subject in which to teach moral and spiritual values? general education?)

I. GENERAL

11. What would you do if a parent were to call you to complain about a book being taught in an English class?

12. (If time permits)

Would you care to elaborate on any unusual procedures or techniques for teaching that have been used here?

Instrument No. 3

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT HEAD INTERVIEW

School____________________ Department Head____________________

Address____________________ Interviewer____________________

I. BASIC RESPONSIBILITIES

1. What are the basic responsibilities of the English Department Head in this school?

2. Who reviews English teachers' lesson plans, and how frequently? (i.e., long range plans, weekly or daily plans.)

3. On the average, how often do the English teachers in the school meet together? ____________________

4. To what business are most of these departmental meetings devoted? Could you describe two or three problems that have occupied attention during the last year?

II. ENGLISH TEACHERS

5. To what extent are you, and other English teachers, involved in the selection of books for the library?

6. On what basis do you select your teachers for types of classes, different streams, different types of pupils, and so on?

7. How much freedom does each teacher have to experiment and use his own initiative within or beyond the framework of the course of study?

8. In what year was your present syllabus developed? ______________
Revised? ____________
How was your syllabus developed?

9. What two or three special strengths do you see in your present program?

10. What two or three weaknesses do you encounter?

II. SPECIAL PROBLEMS

11. As a matter of practice or policy, does your department tend to rely on any unique or especially effective way of teaching vocabulary? reading? spelling?

12. What types of compositions do the pupils usually write and what is the usual procedure followed in correcting and returning papers? (revisions, etc.)

13. Which teachers in your department tend to encourage pupils to write poetry or short stories? In what form do pupils generally do such writing?

14. What provisions are made for directing the individual reading of pupils?

I. FINAL COMMENT

15. Are there any final comments that you would like to make concerning your program in English that we have not covered in the course of this interview?

Which teacher or teachers would you nominate as being outstanding in your department and for what reason?

Instrument No. 4

DEPARTMENT HEAD QUESTIONNAIRE

School______________________________ Head of
Address_____________________________ English Department______________________

Note: Whereas most of the questions on this questionnaire call for rather precise quantitative answers, others are designed to sound out the objectives and practices in the teaching of English that you and your colleagues consider most important and effective. Our desire is that you rank them in the order of emphasis or importance corresponding to the actual practice in your department. In this way we may finally compare those established and traditional objectives which may have no real bearing on the effective teaching of English with those which actually do have value indicated by their continual use in schools with good English programs. Thus, you can see that it is important that all of the questions be answered realistically.

1. Is there a specific syllabus for each form of English? ____yes ____no

2. Mark the approximate percentage of time most often allocated to the teaching of each of the following phases in English during the periods indicated.

	Below 4th Form	4th Form	5th Form	6th Form
Literature	%	%	%	%
Oral Composition (Speech)	%	%	%	%
Written Composition	%	%	%	%
Language				
Grammar and usage	%	%	%	%
Vocabulary development	%	%	%	%
History	%	%	%	%
Reading (as a skill)	%	%	%	%
Other Skills				
Reference skills	%	%	%	%
Spelling	%	%	%	%
Punctuation, capitalization, etc.	%	%	%	%
Précis, summary	%	%	%	%
Other (please specify)____________	%	%	%	%

3. Approximately how many written exercises (free composition, formal composition or précis, composition on reading) are required for English class each week in each of the following forms?

Below 4th form ____________ exercises
4th form ____________ exercises
5th form ____________ exercises
6th form ____________ exercises

4. Which of the following community facilities are readily available to the pupils in your school? (X for available, XX for available and used extensively.)

( ) Public Library
( ) Art Museum
( ) Opera
( ) Concerts
( ) Professional Theatre
( ) Other (please specify)__________

5. How many plays were performed in school last year? __________

List the last three full-length school dramatic productions.

____________________ ____________________ ____________________

6. Does your school support a dramatic society?
___Yes ___No

7. How does the school recognize the outstanding achievements of pupils in English? ____
____

8. Is the teaching of English formally combined with any other curriculum? (e.g., history) ______ Which curriculum? ______________

9. Please estimate the approximate percentage of your working time spent on each of the following activities:

Teaching classes	___%	Meeting with parents	___%
Planning lessons, marking papers	___%	Visiting classes	___%
Conferring with administrators	___%	Arranging meetings	___%
Staff or department meetings	___%	Other (please specify) ____________________	___%

How many free periods are you given to perform the non-teaching activities?
____

Do you get a special responsibility allowance as head of the department?
__________________per year.

How is the head of the department chosen? ______________________________

10. In regard to your basic responsibilities as head of the English department, please rank the following numerically according to their importance in your school. (Rank all that apply to your situation as 1 for most important, etc.

___ To establish or revise curriculum.
___ To aid the headmaster in selecting new teachers.
___ To work with heads of departments in other subjects to coordinate instructional procedures.
___ To help service the department, i.e., in supplying and coordinating syllabus, instructional aids, texts and materials.
___ To help new teachers.
___ To evaluate and make written reports on the effectiveness of teachers.
___ To help with administrative details.
___ Other (please specify) ______________________________

11. Please indicate the degrees you hold, the length and type of teaching and administrative experience you have had, and any writing you have done for publication.

Degrees:______________________________

Experience:____
____

Publications:____
____

12. How large are the English classes in your school? How many exist with pupil enrollments as follows?

	4th	5th	6th		4th	5th	6th
above 40	___	___	___	21-25	___	___	___
36-40	___	___	___	16-21	___	___	___
31-35	___	___	___	below 16	___	___	___
26-30	___	___	___				

13. How many full-time English teachers are there in the department? ____________
How many part-time English teachers? ____________________

14. How many English teachers with a doctoral degree? ____________
with a Master's degree? ____________
with an honors degree? ____________
with a pass degree? ____________
1st class ____________
2nd class ____________
3rd class ____________
other ____________________ ____________

15. What is the average number of classes assigned each full-time English teacher? ____________________________

16. Are teachers assigned as library supervisors? ___Yes ___No

17. Please indicate which of the following responsibilities (if any) are assigned to English teachers. After each activity list the number of English teachers assigned each as an out-of-class responsibility.

school magazine	___	school council	___
newspaper	___	supervising pupils during out-of-class hours (playground, halls, etc.)	___
dramatics	___	other activities	___
library and debating society	___	(please specify)____________________	

18. On which of the following methods do you rely to provide promising ways of providing for the continuing education of English teachers. (Rank three most frequently employed in order of use; rank three in order of effectiveness.)

	Order of Use	Order of Effectiveness
Institutes of Education courses and conferences	____	____
departmental courses	____	____
LEA courses	____	____
university extension courses	____	____
conferences with teachers	____	____
portion of full time for development work	____	____
attendence at professional meetings	____	____
meetings with H.M.I. or LEA inspectors	____	____
other (please specify)____________	____	____

19. What provisions are made for supervision of English teaching by head of department, LEA organizers, or H.M.I.?

20. Do the teachers within the English department cooperate in planning and revising the English program? ____Yes ____No

21. Which of these teaching aids are at the disposal of every teacher? (please tick ✓.)

____ gramophone
____ library of recordings
____ filmstrip projector
____ film projector
____ television
____ teaching machine
____ tape recorder
____ other projectors or machines (List:)

22. Which is the most prevalent approach to the teaching of literature in each of the following forms?

below 4th form:
____ thematic (i.e., "The Sea," "Courage")
____ types of literature (i.e., poetry, drama, etc.)
____ according to anthology
____ chronological
____ selected authors

4th form:
____ thematic (i.e., "The Sea," "Courage")
____ types of literature (i.e., poetry, drama, etc.)
____ according to anthology
____ chronological
____ selected authors

5th form:
____ thematic (i.e., "The Sea," "Courage")
____ types of literature (i.e., poetry, drama, etc.)
____ according to anthology
____ chronological
____ selected authors

6th form:
____ thematic (i.e., "The Sea," "Courage")
____ types of literature (i.e., poetry, drama, etc.)
____ according to anthology
____ chronological
____ selected authors

23. Are there any books which form the core of the syllabus at O and A levels?

4th form ____
____
____
____
____
____

5th form ____
____
____
____
____
____

6th form ____
____
____
____
____
____

24. Rank numerically in order of importance three of the following objectives in the teaching of literature in the secondary school using 1 for most important, etc.

____ The pupil's development through literature--his greater insight into human experience.
____ The pupil's acquaintance with the literary tradition, defined not merely as his knowledge of titles, authors, etc., but also as his awareness of major ideas which run through literature of all times.
____ The pupil's understanding of literature as art, of the various genres of art forms.
____ The pupil's ability to comprehend the meaning and the development of a particular work of literature.
____ The pupil's aesthetic response and appreciation of each work of literature as a significant and unique experience.

25. Rate numerically in order of importance and practice three of the following approaches in the teaching of composition in fifth form classes.

____ emphasis on elements of style.
____ emphasis on originality in style, diction, and expression.
____ emphasis on organizing ideas clearly, on elaborating and illustrating with care.
____ emphasis on correct grammar, mechanics, and sentence structure.
____ emphasis on clear thinking, logic.
____ emphasis on conclusions, ideas, content.
____ emphasis on giving the pupil the opportunity to sound out his own ideas, to expand his horizons.

26. Rank numerically in order of importance three of the following objectives in the teaching of language in your school using 1 for the most important, e

____ To enable the pupil to know the rules of correct English.
____ To enable the pupil to identify grammatical units and constructions.
____ To enable the pupil to express his ideas clearly and forcefully.
____ To give the pupil practice in revising faulty sentences.
____ To help the pupil analyze and thus understand his language through logic and order.
____ To help the pupil keep the language within the bounds of convention and propriety.
____ To help the pupil appreciate the heritage of his language.
____ To help the pupil recognize the varieties and complexities of language and thereby give him more refined tools of communication to commensurate with his maturity and ability.
____ To help the pupil understand the structure of his language so that he may more readily learn a foreign language.
____ Other (please specify) ____

27. Rate numerically the following criteria used for evaluating children's writing according to their emphasis and importance in each of the last three forms. Rank all that apply, using 1 for the most important, etc.

____ ____ ____ usage, spelling, punctuation, capitalization, mechanics.
____ ____ ____ sentence structure (as style) word choice.
____ ____ ____ appearance of paper, proper format, protocol.
____ ____ ____ content, clarity of thought and organization.
____ ____ ____ appropriate development of ideas and content.
____ ____ ____ accommodation of grading to pupils' needs.
____ ____ ____ imagination and individuality.
____ ____ ____ others (please specify). ______________________________

28. (a) Are the end-of-term examinations set in English? ____ Yes ____ No

(b) If so, are they part of the whole school program? ____ Yes ____ No

(c) If not, are they prepared by the classroom teacher or the department head, or both?

____ classroom teacher ____ department head ____ both

29. By whom is the departmental section(s) of the end-of-the-term examinations written?

(a) ____ by head of department
(b) ____ by form level chairman
(c) ____ by all teachers
(d) ____ other (please indicate whom) ____________________

30. If no part of the examination is departmental, in relation to what criteria does the teacher construct the exam? ____________________
____

31. By whom are these examinations reviewed? ____________________

32. Are these exams kept on file? tick (✓) one:

(a) All of them ____
(b) Most of them ____
(c) Some of them ____
(d) None of them ____

33. What forms for the examination are used? (Rank order the following, 1 for type most used, 2 for type second most used, etc.)

(a) _____ multiple choice
(b) _____ true/false
(c) _____ completion
(d) _____ identification (of quotes, authors, etc.)
(e) _____ definition
(f) _____ essay answer
(g) _____ composition
(h) _____ other: please explain
____
____

34. Approximately what percentage of the following areas of English is given to each examination in each form?

	3rd form	4th form	5th form	6th form	
(a)	(1)________	(2)________	(3)________	(4)________	grammar
(b)	(1)________	(2)________	(3)________	(4)________	composition
(c)	(1)________	(2)________	(3)________	(4)________	literature
(d)	(1)________	(2)________	(3)________	(4)________	speech
(e)	(1)________	(2)________	(3)________	(4)________	journalism
(f)	(1)________	(2)________	(3)________	(4)________	mass media
(g)	(1)________	(2)________	(3)________	(4)________	logic

35. What features of your work in English are unique to your school or district? What features appear to you to be especially strong? (Please comment at length.)

Instrument No. 5

CONCEPT CHECK LIST

(for Department Head and Pupil Interviews)

School________________________ Interviewer________________________

Subject________________________

The following terms represent concepts or ideas which are sometimes stressed in English programs in America. We know that a considerable number are not introduced in programs in the United Kingdom. However, so that comparable information may be obtained, please tick the year in which any is usually introduced in your school, not simply as a word, but as a useful idea or functional concept. If the concept is not used, tick the last column.

	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	5th Year	6th Year	Not Introduc
1. connotation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. alliteration	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. slanting (bias)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. metaphor	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. blank verse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. argumentation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. inference	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. allusion	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. parallel structure	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. colloquial	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. epic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. cliché	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. jargon	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. satire	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. analogy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. determiners	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. paradox	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. redundance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. nominative absolutes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. dramatic irony	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. précis	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
22. sentence patterns	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
23. allegory	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
24. consistency of diction	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
25. levels of abstraction	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
26. narrative point of view	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
27. periodic sentence	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
28. conditional clause	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
29. tone	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
30. euphemism	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Instrument No. 6

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SELECTED TEACHER

School______________________________ Teacher____________________________

Interviewer_________________________

1. Has all of your teaching been done in this school?

   How long have you taught in this school?

2. What is your present teaching assignment?

3. How has your teaching schedule changed since you came to this school?

(USE QUESTIONS 4 AND 5 ONLY IF TEACHER HAS HAD PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE.)

4. In what ways do you believe the English program at this school is unique?

5. What problems (if any) do you believe are unique to the English program in this school?

6. What do you feel is the most important function of English? (e.g., primarily a service function? a forum of ideas? a subject in which to teach moral and spiritual values? general education?

7. Which aspects of the English program would you like to see changed?

8. On what teaching resources do you tend to draw the most heavily in your English teaching? (If necessary, mention: audio-visual aids, books, visuals--be as vague as possible)

9. To what extent do you tend to rely on textbooks in teaching language skills and composition?

Workbooks?

What is your opinion of the books you use?

Do you know of any other texts that you would rather use?

Why?

10. To what extent can you select the literature that you use in your classes?

11. From whom do you obtain the most assistance when you encounter problems in teaching English? (Are there individuals in the school or school system? Outside of it? Could you discuss the steps you take when you encounter a problem in planning or teaching?)

12. What do you consider to be the most significant compensation for teaching English in school?

13. What seems to be the one most disappointing aspect of teaching English?

14. If you were at the point of beginning your teaching career and you knew what you do now about the problems, compensations, restrictions and rewards of the profession, would you still become an English teacher?

15. As you look back on your preparation and the experiences that you have had professionally since that time, what individuals or experiences would you say have had the most impact in determining the way in which you teach English today?

Instrument No. 7

A STUDY OF THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN SELECTED BRITISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS

University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801

Issues in Teaching English

School______________________________

This questionnaire is designed to record your immediate and candid views on a number of current issues in the teaching of English in the secondary schools. As with real issues, there is probably a tenable position at either extreme and there is no completely "right" or "wrong" answer to any of the questions. The project staff, however, is very much interested in ascertaining your views and the collective opinion of your department on the issues that follow. In responding to the various questions, please consider them in the context of the totality of English teaching--not in relation to an isolated or a typical class that might stand out at the moment.

Please tick (✓) the number of years you have taught English:
a( ) less than 1 year
b( ) 1-5
c( ) 6-10
d( ) 11-15
e( ) 16-20
f( ) more than 20

Please tick (✓) the appropriate column that most accurately reflects your attitude concerning each of the following issues.

		I agree	I am not sure	I disagree
1.	Language content should be taught as an integral part of English according to an organized plan rather than introduced as the need occurs in relation to writing and usage of pupils.	a( )	b( )	c( )
2.	Pupils must be given freedom to select literary works, even if such freedom means they occasionally choose inferior works at certain stages of their development.	a( )	b( )	c( )
3.	Novels and plays adapted to suit the abilities of slower pupils are essential to a good English program because they afford these pupils an acquaintance with the best in literature.	a( )	b( )	c( )
4.	Though the experience of reading a worthwhile piece of literature may mean little to a pupil at the moment, he will generally be able to recall the selection and appreciate it later on.	a( )	b( )	c( )
5.	Children will become better writers if they are allowed frequent opportunities to express themselves imaginatively by writing stories and poems rather than if they are restricted to expository forms.	a( )	b( )	c( )
6.	Literature, composition and language are most effectively taught as separate courses.	a( )	b( )	c( )
7.	The English teacher's most important responsibility is to teach writing.	a( )	b( )	c( )
8.	Virtually all writing should grow out of the literature read and discussed by the class.	a( )	b( )	c( )
9.	It is necessary to teach some literature (primarily poems and short stories) through close textual analysis to help the pupil develop an appreciation of good literature.	a( )	b( )	c( )
10.	No composition or theme should be returned to a pupil which has not been rigorously examined for technical errors.	a( )	b( )	c( )
11.	Because of the increasing emphasis on the spoken word, more stress must be placed on the skills of speaking and listening, even if this means devoting somewhat less time to literature or written composition.	a( )	b( )	c( )

(Please turn over)

		I agree	I am not sure	I disagree
12.	Children learn more about writing if they write about their personal experiences rather than about literary subjects.	a( )	b( )	c( )
13.	The proper choice of literature should be that which can be comprehended and appreciated at the moment by the majority of the class.	a( )	b( )	c( )
14.	Memorization of words and their meanings is of considerable value in extending the range of a pupil's useful vocabulary.	a( )	b( )	c( )
15.	Because language patterns vary constantly according to use, it is unrealistic to insist on a single standard of usage among pupils.	a( )	b( )	c( )
16.	Instruction about the structure of language is necessary to one's learning to use the language proficiently.	a( )	b( )	c( )
17.	There is more value in assigning four subjects a month to be graded specifically for technical errors than in requiring two themes a month to be graded comprehensively for diction, grammar, sentence structure, content, logic, and development.	a( )	b( )	c( )
18.	Unless children read frequently and widely, they will not develop their writing potential adequately.	a( )	b( )	c( )
19.	A literature program in which selections are grouped around topics or themes offers the best approach to developing permanent appreciation.	a( )	b( )	c( )
20.	Given the choice, it is more important that each pupil write something each week than that each paper be marked or corrected closely.	a( )	b( )	c( )
21.	Frequent exposure to many examples of good writing accompanied by some writing practice will do more to improve pupil writing than will constant practice with infrequent exposure to good stylistic models.	a( )	b( )	c( )
22.	English teachers should see to it that young people write at least one term paper (say, several thousand words) before going to college.	a( )	b( )	c( )
23.	Literature, composition, and language are best taught separately within a single English course.	a( )	b( )	c( )
24.	Practically all children in the secondary school should occasionally be expected to write stories and poems.	a( )	b( )	c( )
25.	A critical and comprehensive analysis of a poem will do more to destroy its beauty than it will to develop literary appreciation.	a( )	b( )	c( )
26.	Young people need to study the history of literature so that they may better understand the current trends in literature.	a( )	b( )	c( )
27.	Marking papers with a double grade (for mechanics and content) is of more benefit than assigning a single, comprehensive grade.	a( )	b( )	c( )
28.	Frequency of writing is more important than less frequent, but longer and more comprehensive, writing assignments.	a( )	b( )	c( )
29.	At least once during each term, every pupil should have the opportunity to give a prepared, oral presentation to his English class.	a( )	b( )	c( )
30.	If they are to develop their writing skills adequately, children should be required to revise each paper thoroughly, and teachers must check these revisions to ensure understanding and improvement.	a( )	b( )	c( )

Instrument No. 8

GROUP INTERVIEW WITH ENGLISH DEPARTMENT

School________________________ Interviewers I________________
Address________________________ II________________
Headmaster present ___ yes ___ no ___ teachers present of total__________

(Before beginning the interview, distribute the ISSUES OPINIONNAIRE and allow ter minutes for its completion.)

I. 1. What attempts do you make as a department to seek support for your work from teachers in other academic subjects?

What success do you have?

2. To what extent is the class schedule interrupted for general school meetings, testing, assemblies, athletic contests, and so on?

II. 3. If your department were given a sizeable increase in annual budget, say one thousand pounds or so, how would you like best to spend it?

4. What responsibility do you have for teaching speech and oral expression?

I. 5. What responsibility do you have for teaching logic or "straight thinking," including propaganda analysis, slanting, drawing inferences, making generalizations?

6. Recently some individuals in the United States have asserted that the greatest neglect in most secondary English programs is the failure to teach reading. What is your position concerning the teaching of reading in your English program?

II. 7. One study of American secondary schools suggested that 50 percent of the time in English should be spent on composition. What is the position of your department concerning this view? Do you spend half of your time on composition instruction?

8. It has been asserted that practically all student writing should stem from literature. What is your feeling about this?

What is your practice?

I. 9. What direct or indirect methods do you employ to help promote pupil understanding of mass media? (i.e., films, TV, music, art, newspapers)

II. 10. A perennial question in the teaching of English has to do with which literature to teach. One school maintains we do not teach enough modern literature, and another that recent literature is not good enough or ready enough for the pupils. What is your feeling about teaching recent or current literature in schools?

Will you cite some examples?

I. 11. How much attention do you give to literature written by American authors?

Which are usually represented in your textbooks?

Instrument No. 9

A STUDY OF THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN SELECTED BRITISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS

100 English Building
University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois 61801
U.S.A.

Questionnaire for Individual English Teacher

Name:______________________________ School:______________________________

Sex:__________ (M) __________(F) Address:______________________________

Tick (✓) if part-time teacher: ______ ______________________________

The Study of English Teaching in Great Britain is an attempt to describe programs and practices that characterize good English teaching in selected schools. A similar study of English teaching has been conducted in 158 American high schools. Considered together, the results of the two studies should offer valuable information to assist the leaders in English teaching in both Great Britain and the United States.

This particular questionnaire is one of the most important instruments in the entire study since it solicits information and judgment from all of the English teachers in each of the participating schools. Although it may at first seem lengthy and involved, its purpose is simple and straightforward: to record the experiences, practices and principles that characterize you as a teacher of English. Most of the questions call for ready responses and require no more than a number or a word. However, some questions call for more reflection and, in the case of the last few, brief written statements regarding your views on teaching. If further space is needed for your comments, other pages may be appended.

Certain questions may seem not to apply to the teaching of English in the United Kingdom. However, so that project investigators may obtain answers, even negative answers, to questions already asked teachers in America, we request your indulgence in responding to every one.

After you have completed this form, please enclose it in the accompanying stamped envelope.

Except for the few questions calling for statements, the majority of questions will be answered by a number to be recorded in the right-hand answer column. Where you find blank parentheses /_( )_/ in the answer column, record only the parenthetic number that corresponds to the appropriate category. Where you find an underlined space in the column, fill in the actual number. (e.g., For #1, in the blank before "years" fill in the number of years you have taught.)

Sponsored by the National Council of Teachers of English

Supported by the United States Office of Education

	Please record answers in this column.
1. How many years have you taught prior to this year?	1. _____years
2. How many classes do you currently teach each day?	2. _____classes
3. How many of these are English classes?	3. _____English classes
4. How many pupils do you currently teach each day? (1) 100 or less (3) 126-150 (5) 176-200 (2) 101-125 (4) 151-175 (6) Over 200 (INDICATE BY CORRESPONDING NUMBER IN PARENTHESES)	4. ( )
5. Approximately how many hours do you consider your average professional work week to be, including all school time plus additional time required to meet school responsibilities, such as dramatic society or literary and debating society?	5. ____hours per week
6. During an average week, approximately how many hours of your professional time are spent on activities a through h? (Include all school time plus additional time beyond the school day required to meet school responsibilities.) Hours per week: (1) Less than 1 (4) 9-12 (7) 21-24 (2) 1-4 (5) 13-16 (8) 25-28 (3) 5-8 (6) 17-20 (9) 29-32 (10) 33 or more (INDICATE HOURS FOR EACH, a-h, BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)	
a. Teaching classes	6. a. ( )
b. Correcting papers	b. ( )
c. Preparing for classes	c. ( )
d. Conferring with pupils	d. ( )
e. Attending to school routines	e. ( )
f. Supervising pupil activities	f. ( )
g. Attending school or department meetings, etc.	g. ( )
h. Other (please specify)________________________	h. ( )
7. During an average month, approximately how many hours do you spend on activities a through f? Hours per month: (1) 1 or less (4) 4 (7) 7 (2) 2 (5) 5 (8) 8 (3) 3 (6) 6 (9) 9 or more (INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)	
a. Attending cinema or theatre	7. a. ( )
b. Attending lectures, discussions, etc.	b. ( )
c. Visiting museums (art, science, etc.)	c. ( )
d. Writing for publication	d. ( )
e. Teaching evening classes or lecturing	e. ( )
f. Other professionally related activities (please specify)________________________	f. ( )

Please record an
in this column.

8. During an average week, approximately how many hours do you spend on activities a to e?

Hours per week:
(1) 0 (3) 4-6 (5) 10-12 (7) 16-18 (9) 22-24
(2) 1-3 (4) 7-9 (6) 13-15 (8) 19-21 (10) 25 or more

(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

a. Taking college course
b. Reading books and periodicals
c. Listening to music
d. Watching television
e. Part-time employment

8. a. (
b. (
c. (
d. (
e. (

9. What has been your most typical summer activity over the last five years (or since you began teaching)?
(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

9. ( )

(1) Employment not related to teaching
(2) Working with children (e.g., camping or recreational activities)
(3) Attending courses
(4) Traveling
(5) Reading, reflecting, planning
(6) Relaxing--personal and/or family recreation
(7) Other (please describe)____________________

10. What was the level of your preparation when you begin full-time teaching?
(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

10. ( )

(1) Less than a bachelor's degree
(2) Bachelor's degree
(3) Master's degree
(4) Doctoral degree

11. In what kind of college or educational institution did you do most of your undergraduate work?
(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

11. ( )

(1) University
(2) College of Education or training college
(3) External degree
(4) Other (please specify____________________

Please record answer in this column.

12. What was your undergraduate major in college?

(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

(1) English Language
(2) English Language and Literature combined
(3) Speech
(4) Drama or Theatre Arts
(5) Education
(6) A combined or general course, including English
(7) A combined or general course, not including English
(8) Other (please specify)________________________

12. ( )
( )
( )

13. What degrees have you earned since you began full-time teaching?

(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

(1) None
(2) B.A. or B.Sc.
(3) M.A. or M.Sc.
(4) B.Ed.
(5) M.Ed.
(6) Ph.D.
(7) D. Litt. or higher degree
(8) Special credential, e.g., administrative, guidance, etc. (please specify)
____
____

13. ( )
( )
( )
( )

14. Of what interest and value would courses, lectures, or conferences in areas a through h be to you if such were available?

(1) Of great interest and value
(2) Of some interest and value
(3) Of little interest and value
(4) Of no interest and value

(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

a. Literature surveys
b. Literature of particular periods
c. Literary genre
d. Literary criticism
e. Literature written for children and adolescents
f. Close studies of single authors or single works
g. Intermediate or advanced composition
h. Speech or drama
i. History of the language
j. Traditional grammar
k. Structural or transformational grammar
l. Teaching of reading
m. Practical methods in the teaching of English
n. Advanced studies in curriculum and research in the teaching of English

14: a. ( )
b. ( )
c. ( )
d. ( )
e. ( )
f. ( )
g. ( )
h. ( )
i. ( )
j. ( )
k. ( )
l. ( )
m. ( )
n. ( )

Please record answ
in this column.

15. Excluding work completed before you began teaching, how long has it been since you have done any of the following, a through g?

(1) Less than a year
(2) 1 year
(3) 2 years
(4) 3-5 years
(5) 5-10 years
(6) More than 10 years
(7) Never

(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

a. Completed an external degree course
b. Attended a local or regional meeting of English teachers (other than a school or district meeting)
c. Attended a county meeting of English teachers
d. Attended an annual meeting of NATE or the English Association
e. Taken part in a voluntary English study group
f. Conferred with a specialist on English or the teaching of English (either in an individual or group conference)

15. a. (
b. (
c. (
d. (
e. (
f. (

16. How long has it been since you have traveled in the areas listed below, a through e?

(1) Less than a year
(2) 1 year
(3) 2 years
(4) 3-5 years
(5) 5-10 years
(6) More than 10 years
(7) Never

(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

a. Traveled more than 500 miles
b. Traveled across the United Kingdom
c. Traveled to Continental Europe
d. Traveled to the United States
e. Traveled to any Commonwealth nations

16. a. (
b. (
c. (
d. (
e. (

17. To which of the following professional organizations do you now belong?

(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

(1) National Association for the Teaching of English
(2) English Association
(3) Modern Language Association
(4) School Library Association
(5) Linguistics Association
(6) Philological Society
(7) Professional associations, such as the Assistant Master's Association and the National Union of Teachers

17. (
(
(
(
(
(
(

18. How many times have you held office in any of the above organizations?

18. ______

Please record answers in this column

19. Please indicate the number of professional books or articles for professional journals that you have written and the number of programs on which you have appeared at professional meetings during the past three years.

19. ______books
______articles
______programs

20. Please INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER the journals on the following list which you regularly read or skim.

(1) Use of English
(2) NATE Bulletin
(3) School Library Review
(4) Review of English Studies
(5) Modern Language Review
(6) Other professional magazines (please specify):

____
____
____

20. ( )
( )
( )
( )

21. Please list below the titles of non-professional magazines you regularly read. (i.e., The Times Literary Supplement, Encounter)

______________ ______________
______________ ______________
______________ ______________

22. List below the two or three most significant books that you have read during the past year.

____
____
____

23. Approximately how many books do you have in your personal library?

23. _____ books

24. On the average, how many books do you read in the course of a month other than those you teach in class?

24. _____ books per month

25. To what extent do you write creatively, if only for your own pleasure?

(1) Frequently (2) Sometimes (3) Rarely (4) Never
(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

25. ( )

26. Which of the following teaching methods do you most frequently employ when you are teaching a typical English class? (Rank only three.)
(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

(1) Lecture
(2) Socratic method
(3) Recitation
(4) Team teaching
(5) Small group work
(6) Talk
(7) Discussion (planned)
(8) Individual silent work
(9) Audio-visual aids
(10) Pupil presentation
(11) Drama, Improvisation
(12) Other (please specify)

____

26.
a.( ) Most frequently
b.( ) Second most frequently
c.( ) Third most frequently

Please record answers in this column.

27. Please rank three of the following according to your estimate of their importance to the success of the English program at your school.

(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

(1) Instruction in art, music, motion picture and other art forms
(2) Instruction in literature
(3) Instruction in reading
(4) Instruction in composition
(5) Instruction in speech and oral expression
(6) Instruction in grammar and structure of the English language
(7) Instruction in spelling
(8) Instruction in listening

27.
a.( ) Most importan
b.( ) Second mo importan
c.( ) Third mos importan

28. In your opinion how important is each of the following aids and materials, a through w, in teaching English?

(1) Absolutely essential
(2) Very important
(3) Of some importance
(4) Not very important
(5) Detrimental

(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

a. Anthology of literature
b. Class sets of novels, plays, biographies, etc.
c. Classroom library of books
d. Sets of 7-8 copies of titles for reading by student groups
e. High interest, limited vocabulary materials for slow readers
f. Special shelf of books for "mature" readers
g. Workbooks with drills
h. Language textbook
i. Handbook on language for pupil reference
j. Record player
k. Library of recordings
l. Filmstrip projector
m. Film projector
n. Teaching machine
o. Tape recorder
p. Television
q. Radio (AM, FM)
r. Display table of periodicals
s. Class set of dictionaries
t. Movable classroom furniture
u. Clerical service
v. Duplicating machine
w. Overhead projector

28. a. ( )
b. ( )
c. ( )
d. ( )
e. ( )
f. ( )
g. ( )
h. ( )
i. ( )
j. ( )
k. ( )
l. ( )
m. ( )
n. ( )
o. ( )
p. ( )
q. ( )
r. ( )
s. ( )
t. ( )
u. ( )
v. ( )
w. ( )

Please record answers in this column.

29. To what extent can you choose materials (literature books, texts, records, etc.) for use in your English classes?
(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

29. ( )

(1) Complete freedom of choice
(2) Generally complete freedom with approval from department head
(3) Selection from wide-ranging list
(4) Selection from "approved" list which is subject to change year by year
(5) No choice: selections pre-determined for each form

30. In encouraging your students to read books, which one of the following sources do you emphasize most?
(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

30. ( )

(1) School library
(2) Public library
(3) Institute of Education Library
(4) Paperbacks (purchased by pupils or used in school)
(5) School sponsored book clubs
(6) Classroom library

31. Please indicate the importance which you place on approaches a through i to the teaching of literature.

(1) Great importance
(2) Some importance
(3) Little importance
(4) No importance
(INDICATE BY PARENTHETIC NUMBER)

a. Presentation of units of literature by themes	31. a. ( )
b. Study of literature by culture-epoch	b. ( )
c. Chronological approach to teaching of literature	c. ( )
d. Study of literary types	d. ( )
e. Studying ideas in single works of literature	e. ( )
f. Comprehensive analytical study of individual selections	f. ( )
g. Study of several works by a single author	g. ( )
h. Study of lives of individual authors	h. ( )
i. Emphasis on guided individual reading	i. ( )

32. What single experience, event, or person has had the greatest influence on your professional attitude and particularly on your concept of teaching English?

33. With which aspect of English teaching do you feel most successful in your present circumstance?

Instrument No. 10

LIBRARIAN'S QUESTIONNAIRE

School________________________ Librarian________________________
Address________________________

This Study of English programs is collecting data in a variety of ways including questionnaire, interview and direct classroom observation for the purpose of describing the programs and practices that characterize English teaching in selected secondary schools throughout the country. Certainly one of the most important aspects of any school English program is the school library--its general character, the extent of its holdings and the accessibility of its materials. This brief questionnaire is designed only to provide the study with basic facts concerning your library. If you would like to make further comments about unique features or problems of your library and its program, please feel free to add them to the back of the questionnaire or to append additional pages. Thank you for your time and cooperation.

Size and Volume

1. How many volumes are in the library? ____ volumes
   How many volumes per pupil? ____ volumes

2. How many books does your library circulate in a typical week? ____ books per week

3. How much money is allocated to the library annually for the purchase of library books? f______ per year
   How much per pupil? f______ per pupil

4. How many books did your library purchase last year? ____ books
   How many the previous year? ____ books
   Of the books purchased last year, how many were duplicate titles or replacements? ____ books

5. How many full-time librarians are there in your library? ____ librarians
   How many part-time librarians? ____ part-time

   How many employed assistants? ____ assistants

6. What hour is the library open? From______to________
   How much time before school opens? ____ minutes
   How much time after school closes? ____ minutes

7. Is the library used for group or class teaching? ____yes ____no

8. To what extent do pupils have access to the library? (i.e., may pupils browse at will? May pupils use the library during any free period? Please explain in detail.)

9. What percentage of your books are on open shelves? ____%

10. How many pupils will your library accommodate? ____ pupils

11. In a typical period, how many pupils use the library? ____ pupils

12. Do you maintain a card catalogue? ____yes ____no

13. Describe the cataloging procedure used in the library.

14. Does the school maintain a small library of professional books and journals for teachers? ____yes ____no

15. Please describe the procedure for selecting books for the library. (To what extent do departments or teachers help in the selection? What guides do you use?)

16. Are there any limitations other than limited budget imposed on selection of library books? (Please explain if yes.) ___yes ___no

17. Please attach a list of periodicals which your library currently subscribes to.

18. Please describe any special features or unique problems of your library.

Instrument No. 11

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SPECIALIST PUPILS

School________________________ Interviewer________________________
Form or Year____________ No. of Pupils________________________

(Before beginning this interview schedule pass out PUPIL QUESTIONNAIRE. Allow pupils ten minutes to complete the questionnaire; then collect it and, after a brief introduction to the study, administer from the front of the class the CONCEPT CHECK LIST; again allowing ten minutes to get the information. Use the remaining time in the period to administer this interview.)

1. What aspects of the English program have you found particularly beneficial or interesting? i.e., what are its outstanding features?

2. About how much out-of-class reading are you given for homework?

   How are these assignments made?

   What happens in class after you have read the books? (Book reports, reviews? Specific examples.)

3. What do you usually do in classes when you read a novel in common?

   a play?

   a poem?

4. How much have you helped to select the reading used in your course?

   How do you feel about the books now being taught?

5. What kinds of writing are you given?

   How is this writing assigned?

6. How are the papers you write marked? (Marginal notes, marks only, double grades?)

What kind of corrections do you feel most helpful?

7. Do you have discussions with teachers about your writing?

How often?

How helpful are they?

8. Do you have assignments in grammar?

How are these made?

What do you do with them?

Instrument No. 12

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SPECIALIST PUPILS

School______________________________ Form or Year________________________________
Age_______________
Tick: ____boy ____girl

1. How many years have you been in this secondary school including this year?
____________years.

2. Indicate what you did during your last summer holiday.

___ Holiday with family
___ Holiday with friends of family
___ Holiday with own friend
___ Attended summer school
___ Worked at home
___ Worked away from home
___ Other (Please describe)_________
____

3. What is your most typical activity after school? [For each column (After School and Evening), write 1 for your most typical activity, 2 for the next, etc., as long as the categories apply.]

After School	Evening	
___	___	Employment at home
___	___	Employment away from home
___	___	Studying or reading
___	___	Watching television
___	___	Listening to the radio
___	___	Attending the cinema
___	___	School athletics
___	___	School clubs
___	___	Clubs outside of school
___	___	Other (please describe) _________________ _________________________________

4. In regard to the general atmosphere of your school, number in order of importance the following activities, indicating the emphasis they receive (i.e., 1 for activity receiving greatest emphasis, 2 for the next, etc.)

___ School supported activities
___ Athletics
___ Scholastic achievement
___ Outside clubs and organizations
___ General indifference to school activities

5. Estimate as closely as you can the number of books that you read last year.
____________books.

Indicate the usual sources of these books.

___ School or class library
___ Public library
___ Home library
___ Borrowed from friends
___ Borrowed from teachers
___ Purchased
___ Other (please indicate)_______
____

6. What book or author have you read in class or out of class that has had the greatest influence on you?

7. Why do you select this book or author?

What book or books, if any, would you like to suggest be added to the English syllabus in your school?

____________________ ____________________
____________________ ____________________

8. Which of the following influences your choise of books for personal reading? Number the following in order of importance (i.e., 1 for the most important, 2 for the next, etc. Rank all that apply.)

___ Recommendation of teacher
___ Recommendation of fellow pupils
___ Book lists provided by school or teacher
___ Browsing in the library
___ Recommendation of parents
___ Recommendation of public librarian
___ Recommendation of school librarian
___ Other (please specify) ____________________________

9. Approximately how frequently do you write in English class? In checking the appropriate category, consider all writing of at least paragraph length, such as composition, letters, written tests, etc.

___ Twice a week or more
___ Once a week
___ Once every two weeks
___ Once every three weeks
___ Once a month
___ Less than once a month

10. What part of the English syllabus would you like to see changed?

How would you like to see it changed?

Instrument No. 13

A STUDY OF THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN SELECTED BRITISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS

University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801

Reading Questionnaire

School________________________________

This questionnaire is part of a study being conducted in Great Britain and the United States of English programs and their related aspects. As part of the study, we want to learn a few things about your reading habits. This is not a test, so feel free to answer exactly the way you feel. There are no right or wrong answers.

Most of the questions can be answered with a tick (like this: ✓) or a short phrase. Instructions are given where needed.

1. In what form are you at present?
   (a) ___1st (b) ___2nd (c) ___3rd (d) ___4th (e) ___5th (f) ___6th

2. What is your sex?
   (a) ___boy (b) ___girl

3. Do you plan to proceed to higher education?
   (a) ___Yes (b) ___Undecided (c) ___No

4. How much time, on the average, do you spend each week reading for homework outside school?

   (a) ___Less than 1 hour a week
   (b) ___1-2 hours a week
   (c) ___3-5 hours a week
   (d) ___6-10 hours a week
   (e) ___More than 10 hours a week

5. How much time, on the average, do you spend each week reading books, besides books for school?

   (a) ___Less than 1 hour a week
   (b) ___1-2 hours a week
   (c) ___3-5 hours a week
   (d) ___6-10 hours a week
   (e) ___More than 10 hours a week

6. What kinds of books do you like to read: (tick as many as apply)

   (a) ___Detective and mystery stories
   (b) ___Adventure, war, sea stories
   (c) ___Romance, love stories
   (d) ___Humorous stories
   (e) ___Science fiction
   (f) ___Sports stories
   (g) ___Poetry
   (h) ___Biography
   (i) ___Books on history
   (j) ___Books on current national or world problems
   (k) ___Science books
   (l) ___Any other kinds of books? What? ______________________

7. Do you read or glance through any magazines regularly?

   (a) ___No
   (b) ___Yes If so, what magazines:______________________________________

8. How many times have you used the school library in the last month?
(a) ___Not at all
(b) ___1 or 2 times
(c) ___3-5 times
(d) ___6-10 times
(e) ___More than 10 times

9. Have you borrowed books from the school library this last month for use at home?
(a) ___Yes (b) ___No

10. Does your school library have all the books you usually need for school?
(a) ___Yes (b) ___No (c) ___Don't know

11. Does your school library have all the books you like to read just for pleasure?
(a) ___Yes (b) ___No (c) ___Don't know

12. How many times have you used a public library in the last month?
(a) ___Not at all
(b) ___1 or 2 times
(c) ___3-5 times
(d) ___6-10 times
(e) ___More than 10 times

13. Have you borrowed books from a public library this past month for use at home?
(a) ___Yes (b) ___No If yes, about how many books all together?_____

14. What kinds of books do you usually use in the public library or take home from the public library? (that is, fiction, history, science, etc.)

____

15. Are the public library books you use about the same as those you use in the school library?
(a) ___About the same (b) ___Different
If different, in what way?______________________________

____

16. On the whole, which library do you prefer to use, the public library or the school library?
(a) ___School library (b) ___Public Library
Why? ______________________________________

____

17. Have you read any books other than textbooks during the last month?
(a) ___Yes (b) ___No

18. If you did, give the total number of these books that you got last month from each of the following places. (For example, 3 borrowed from school library, 1 borrowed from public library, 0 borrowed from friends, etc.)
___ borrowed from school library
___ borrowed from public library
___ borrowed from friends
___ selected from home library
___ borrowed from teachers
___ paper-bound books purchased from bookstore, etc.
___ purchased from book club
___ other: what?____________________

Instrument No. 14

PUPIL WRITING CHECK LIST

This form should be completed by one of the observers after checking a sample of at least 40 or 50 pupil papers from a representative number of English classes.

Use numbers to approximate the order of frequency and emphasis for items I-IV.

I. Typical or average length (using written script as basis):

(a) short paragraph ____
(b) one page ____
(c) two pages ____
(d) more than two pages ____
(e) three or more pages ____

II. Indicate approximate percentage of typed papers ____%

III. Types of writing:

A. Basically expository types:

1. Literary subjects: *e.g.*, analytical or critical essay of a poem, sketch of a character in a novel. ("Keats and the Concept of Truth in 'Ode to a Grecian Urn'"; "A Sketch of Pip from *Great Expectations*.") ____

2. Non-literary subjects generally foreign to pupil's immediate knowledge requiring research or speculation: *e.g.*, biographical study of persons including authors, foreign policy, teenage driving, occupations. ("Three Philosophers and Their Concepts of Truth"; "The Physiognomy of Adolf Hitler.") ____

3. Non-literary subjects generally close to a pupil experience or knowledge, *e.g.*, personal accounts, some aspect of home life, decidedly personal opinions. ("My Idea of Truth"; "My Grandpa"; "Breakfast at our House.") ____

B. Non-expository types:

Poems, short stories, etc., sometimes considered "creative" writing. ____

IV. Emphasis of correction: (*Cf.* Dusel reprint from *Illinois English Bulletin*.)

(a) Marking to assign a grade ____
(b) Marking to indicate faults ____
(c) Marking to correct ____
(d) Marking to teach writing and thinking ____

V. Evidence of revision:

(a) No revision of any kind ____
(b) Gross errors (i.e., in spelling, usage and punctuation) revised ____
(c) Words changed, sentences rephrased ____
(d) Complete revision (many additions, deletions, or complete rewriting with most significant changes made.) ____

VI. Describe one or two typical assignments or list several typical composition topics.

____________________ ____________________
____________________ ____________________
____________________ ____________________
____________________ ____________________

VII. Additional comments concerning the quality of college preparatory pupil writing.

VIII. Obtain representative copies of school newspapers, literary magazines.

Instrument No. 15

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION CARD

Name of high school: ______________________________ Date: ______________

Class & Grade: ______________ Instructor: ______________ Observer: ______________

Grouping: A___ C___ T___ Other (specify) ______________________________

Number of Students: ______________ Time Observed: ______________

Assignments:

Physical features of classroom:

Books, paperbacks carried by students:

Describe the activity briefly (include teacher's apparent purpose, unique features, etc.):

Describe the continuity of lesson (its relationship to previous and succeeding lessons):

Pupil involvement (circle one): completely involved 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 uninvolved

Content (order of emphasis, 1, 2, 3, only):

Literature .... ____

Composition .... ____

Language .... ____

Reading .... ____

Speech: formal .... ____

informal .... ____

Mass media............ ____

No content stressed ____

Other .... ____

Method (order of emphasis, 1, 2, 3, only):

Lecture, demonstration .... ____

Groups .... ____

Silent work .... ____

Recitation .... ____

Discussion .... ____

Socratic .... ____

Student presentation .. ____

Teacher operating equipment (specify)

Other ______________________

Instrument No. 16

SUMMARY OF CLASSROOM VISITATION

School______________________________ No. of classes observed_______________

Observer_________________________Approximate number of minutes_______________

I. Indicate by numbers the order of emphasis in the following content areas (i.e., 1 for content receiving most emphasis, 2 for content receiving next emphasis, etc., using as many as apply.)

Literature ____

Composition ____

Language ____

Reading ____

Speech: formal____

informal____

Mass Media ____

No content ____

Other (Please describe) ____

____

____

II. Indicate by numbers the order of emphasis in the following methods:

Lecture, demonstration ____

Groups ____

Silent work ____

Recitation ____

Talk (unplanned by purposeful) ___

Discussion (planned) ___

Socratic method ___

Pupil presentation ___

Teaching operating equipment ___

Other (Please describe)____

____

____

III. Pupil Involvement

Circle the number below which corresponds to the average degree of pupil involvement in all classes observed:

Completely involved Uninvolved

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

IV. Methods, Materials and Approaches

	Much in evidence; widespread to constant use in the department	Frequent use by some teachers	Some indication occasional use	Infrequent use suggested	No evidence of any use
(a) Silent reading in class	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(b) Writing in class	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(c) Individual conferences with teacher	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(d) Classroom libraries or wide use of school libraries by classes	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(e) Workbooks	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(f) Programmed instruction	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(g) Team teaching	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(h) Independent study (library)	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(i) Use of single anthology *for entire course*	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(j) Use of grammar texts	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(k) Use of multiple sets of texts	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(l) Remedial reading program	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(m) Developmental reading program	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(n) Use of reading laboratory	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(o) Thematic or idea-centered teaching of literature	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(p) Emphasis on literary history	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(q) Emphasis on literature as social documentation	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(r) Emphasis on morals to be gleaned from literature	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )
(s) Emphasis on analysis of particular work	1 ( )	2 ( )	3 ( )	4 ( )	5 ( )

Great variety of teaching methods	Little variety of teaching methods
1 2 3 4	5 6 7

Great variety of teaching materials	Little variety of teaching materials
1 2 3 4	5 6 7

V. Character of class discussion:

Pupils are eager to respond, to forward opinions--challenge and question	Pupils are generally unresponsive, use stock replies when questioned, answer in single words or phrases
1 2 3 4	5 6 7

Teachers are catalysts, they prompt discussion but allow pupils much latitude in expressing opinions, drawing conclusions	Teachers dominate discussion; do virtually all of the talking, state unsupported opinions
1 2 3 4	5 6 7

VI. Literature program:

Ideas evoked from the literature read, not foisted on pupils from teacher's predilections. (Ideas might deal with form and/or content, such as could occur through close textual analysis)	Emphasis on memory work in literatur Names, dates, authors, kinds, period rote-learning heavily practiced
1 2 3 4	5 6 7

VII. Intellectual climate of the school:

Accessible library, well stocked with good books	Meager library, or one inaccessible to pupils
1 2 3 4	5 6 7

Good general intellectual climate	Poor intellectual climate
1 2 3 4	5 6 7

VIII. Writing:

Frequent and varied writing experiences in evidence	Infrequent and unimaginative assignments in evidence
1 2 3 4	5 6 7

IX. Course Content:

Language, literature and composition coordinated	Language, literature and composition taught as separate courses or units--definite demarcation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Language, literature, composition taught in appropriate proportion and sequence	Language, literature, composition taught disproportionately with little thought to sequence

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

X. Reading:

Effective, coordinated instruction in reading carried on by the English department or reading specialist	No apparent effort or an ineffective attempt to teach reading as a skill by English department or reading specialist

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

XI. Organization, administration and supervision:

Supervision administered by capable department chairman with time to attend to important details	Only nominal department chairman--or one with inadequate training or time to function

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Ideas, principles and new departures of teachers supported by administration	Ideas, principles and new departures of teachers not supported by administration

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

XII. Unique, dedicated teachers:

Within department are some unique, dedicated teachers who spark department	In general, no especially well qualified or enthusiastic teachers

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

XIII. Curriculum:

Special program for non-college bound pupils is effective	No special program for non-college bound pupils or ineffective one

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

In general, the curriculum reflects changing conditions and patterns of the times	Curriculum is static, does not change or keep pace with times

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Instrument No. 17

SUMMARY OF REACTION TO SCHOOL

[Each item asks for a single page response]

School______________________________ Observer______________________

Address_____________________________ Dates of Visit__________________

Present Date____________________

(This summary sheet should be completed soon after the visit before conferring with other members of the team.)

1. What is your dominant impression of the overall educational program which you observed in the school?
2. In what way does the total program in English appear to be among the stronger or weaker aspects of the whole school program?
3. Insofar as you can determine, what seemed to be the basic attitude in the school toward the English program? (Include also relevant comments by administrators, teachers of other subjects, and pupils. Note evidence of attempts to support the work of the English program in subjects other than English.)
4. What special strengths of the English program seem worthy of comment? (Here summarize as much as you can your general reactions and your reactions to the comments of those in the school with which you had contact.)
5. What overall weaknesses in the program seemed apparent to you? (Discuss in detail.)
6. Characterize in as much detail as possible the overall intellectual atmosphere of the school.
7. What unusual approaches or methods were discovered? (Refer to outstanding teachers, indicating what you believe to be the most important reasons for their individual success as English teachers.)

APPENDIX E

HANDBOOK FOR VISITATION AND OBSERVATION

FOREWORD

The purposes of this handbook are to give the school visitors an outline guide to the instruments and methods of the school visit which we have found to be practicable, and to define, or at least to suggest, the role of the observer in gathering data not otherwise obtainable except through a complex but limiting quantitative process.

Two sections deserve special notice. Section III, dealing with the purpose of the instruments, is of special importance because it demonstrates how each device fits into the whole of the study and gives an idea of the kind of information desired from each instrument. The section enumerating the aspects of the program to be checked (Appendix), although exhaustive and perhaps discouraging at first sight, is important both because it shows the extent of the study and because it stars those aspects of the English program to be checked carefully because sufficient data is unavailable except through conscious effort of the observer.

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PART I: SCHOOL VISIT

Travel Arrangements and Expenses

All travel expenses and living costs incurred in visiting British schools will be reimbursed by the project within modest but reasonable limits. Round-trip airline transportation from Champaign to London will be arranged by the project office and charged directly to the account. Most travel and hotel reservations (including hotel, breakfast, and service charges) will be made by Miss Margaret Osborne, Study Abroad, 16 Berkeley Street, London W.1., (Telephone: MAYfair 3908) and the project will be billed directly. Miss Osborne will supply tickets, reservations, and a detailed itinerary to observers. For luncheon, dinners, and all miscellaneous travel not covered by advance arrangements, the observer should supply a detailed statement of expenses for reimbursement when he returns to Champaign. For any travel reimbursement, observers should retain stubs or receipts to be submitted along with the travel voucher after the visit.

Air tickets to Britain, to be ordered by Mrs. Robinson through Trelease Travel Agency, will be paid directly from the budget. The observers need only to sign the tax-exempt form (available in the project office) before the tickets are ordered, and the Air Travel Order after the tickets have been used. It is also unnecessary to hold used stubs for air transportation secured in this way. Transportation must be scheduled for tourist or economy classes unless they are unavailable.

If individual plans for travel (delays, side trips, etc.) require special arrangements, Mrs. Robinson should be informed sufficiently early to make necessary arrangements. The project, unfortunately, does not have funds to underwrite the costs of special personal trips and stop-overs, but there is no objection to arranging schedules whenever possible to accommodate invividuals. We will of course reimburse lodging and meals on weekends.

In addition to travel costs, the budget has been written to reimburse other expenses at an estimated $16 per day, slightly more than half this amount will be required for bed and breakfast, but an average of $7.00 or so should be available for luncheon and dinner which should be sufficient. Obviously expenses will vary considerably according to the going rates of the area visited. Miss Osborne will see that we are in comfortable but not plush surroundings. Hopefully, the considerable economic range of the places visited will tend to balance our tenuous budget through the year. For a number of reasons (most of them having to do with money) visitors are urged to accept twin occupancy in hotels whenever it is practicable. In this way, reasonable and good hotel rooms with breakfast should average about $8 or $9 per person. We should know in advance something about the facilities of local hotels and their location relative to the school to be visited, and reservations will be made prior to the visit through the London office. (During the visits, observers may telephone Miss Osborne directly with their questions.)

In the course of the visit and during the travel period, it is wise to keep an unofficial log of expenses incurred so they may be recorded on the Travel Voucher upon your return. Such items as times of arrival and departure, cost of meals and taxis, etc. must be individually indicated on the voucher. A single copy of the voucher, together with the necessary receipts for incidentals over $3.00 (but not for meals) should be submitted to Mrs. Robinson shortly after completion of the travel period. After she has typed out the final voucher form, the observer must sign two of the copies. Approximately three weeks are apparently necessary to process this form, after which the visitor may expect reimbursement. No application need be initiated in regard to the honorarium; this money will be sent separately from the travel expenses.

The University has made provision for obtaining an advance for personal travel funds when necessary. These funds may be secured by filling in an application form available from Mrs. Robinson.

An Outline of the School Visit

This section proposes to give only a brief, yet comprehensive, outline of the general plan of a typical school visit. Although the amount of material to be gleaned from each school in the short period of two days (and in some cases only one) may at first seem staggering, be assured that such a plan is indeed workable and compact enough to make the visit interesting but not exhausting. The schools tend to be smaller than American schools and, perhaps, somewhat more flexible. On the other hand, we have been advised that British teachers object strenously to filling out questionnaires. Conditions will vary in each school and observers will need to make adjustments in procedure accordingly.

The project staff has been corresponding with each of the schools involved in the study since January of this year and has collected some information concerning these schools. A preliminary questionnaire and information on schedules of classes is available at the project office, and some familiarity with the school is distinctly desirable in advance of the visit. Prior to visiting each school the observers may wish to confer about what is known regarding each school.

Experience has shown that it is possible for two observers to complete the visitation adequately in two days and also that the sequence of the visit described below is often the most practicable. The pattern of the visit, however, is not inviolable (vis., some small schools will not require as many teacher interview periods as allotted), and it may be altered to adjust to a unique program.

Some of the reasons for the following schema are obvious. Protocol demands that the Headmaster/Headmistress be interviewed first, if available, and then the department head. (Where arrangements are made through the department head, the first discussion is likely to be with him.) The English Department Interview should definitely be scheduled for the first day after school so that the teachers have a chance to meet us before we interview them individually on the following day. We are requesting such a meeting in our correspondence with schools. Some classes may be visited and some interviews scheduled during the first day, but it is advisable to make notes of the teachers who appear to be outstanding in the meeting with the department.

In regard to selecting classes to be observed and teachers to be interviewed, a tentative plan might well be made in consultation with the department chairman unless schools have sent schedules in advance. To some extent, the school schedule is likely to control the length of observations and interviews. Class periods may range from thirty-five to sixty minutes and from six to nine per day. Individual schools might have such unorthodox scheduling procedures that they have double periods, lecture periods, or alternating instructional periods that vary from week to week. However, the typical British high school, like American schools, will have a six or seven period day beginning at about 8:30 and continuing until about 3:00 or 3:30 p.m., with each period consisting of forty-five or fifty minutes. Pilot studies suggest that two observers reach an optimum number of classes by spending approximately half a period (about twenty minutes) in each class. This allows time for the observer to note the tenor of the class, the kind of instruction, and the various other bits of information that we must have. On the other hand, observers are urged to depart from this half-period schedule should there be reason to. For example, if the class is to be engaged in silent work (reading, writing, taking a test) for the entire time, the observer might better note the assignment and the activity on the observation card and go on to another class. Or if the class is particularly interesting because of the lesson or the approach of the teacher, the visitor might well remain for the entire period.

The classroom visitations are essential to the study. For one-day visits or hurried visits, it would be preferable to reduce the number of interviews so that a reasonable amount of time may be spent in the classroom.

Interviews are scheduled to provide the most relevant information from teachers in a brief period of time. In practice, the length of the teacher interviews seems to be directly proportional to the loquacity of the teachers. Most of these sessions can be handled in about half a period, but some teachers are evidently happy to find a sympathetic ear, or at least a sounding board, and these few are likely to talk until a bell summons them to duty again.

The sample time schedule which follows assumes a two day visit by two observers in a school with a minimum of six class periods, each about forty-five minutes long.

SAMPLE TIME SCHEDULE

First Day

Period	Observer #1 (staff)	Observer #2 (visiting panel)
Home Room	Headmaster Interview	
1	Headmaster's Interview (contd.)	
2	Department Head Interview--Concept Check List	
3	Observe 2 classes	Observe 2 classes
4	Observe 2 classes	Librarian's Questionnaire
	LUNCH	LUNCH
5	Interview Advanced Class of Specialist Pupils Administer Pupil Questionnaire, Concept Check List	
6	Observe 2 classes	Observe 2 classes
After School	English Department Interview Administer Issues Questionnaire Leave Teacher Questionnaires	

Second Day

Home Room	Courtesy stop at Headmaster's Office	
1	Observe 2 classes	Sample student writing
2	Observe 2 classes or Interview teachers	Observe 2 classes
3	Interview 2 teachers	Interview 2 teachers
4	Observe 1 class Interview 1 teacher	Observe 1 or 2 classes
	LUNCH	LUNCH

Period	Observer #1 (Staff)	Observer #2 (visiting panel)
5	Observe 1 class together	
	Observe 1 class	Interview 1 teacher
6	Interview 2 teachers Pick up questionnaire from Department Head	Observe 2 classes Pick up Librarian Questionnaire
After School	See Headmaster and Department Head	
Afternoon or Evening (if possible)	Fill out Summary Analysis of Classroom Observation and Summary Reaction to School	

Note: Observer #2 from the visiting panel has a limited number of different instruments that he will handle alone, for during four of the interviews he will be working with a staff member, asking questions and recording answers alternately. This arrangement has been made deliberately so that the visitor may gradually become familiar with the instruments and their explicit use during the first visit or two.

The three most important instruments are the Classroom Observation Cards, the Summary Analysis of Classroom Observation, and the Summary Reaction to the school. Please give the latter considerable thought.

We can expect considerable variety in procedures and attitudes among the schools to be visited. By and large because of the nature of our study, most of the teachers and administrators will be receptive and eager to please, rather than resentful of visitors. Some will be surprisingly candid and seem to want to "show and tell" all; others will be considerably restrained. A few of the schools, especially around London, already having national reputations are accustomed to troops of visitors, and from such places we can expect a less effusive welcome that we might from a small out-of-the-way high school. Hopefully, the department head will be available for interviews and consultation, but not assigned to accompany and follow every step of the visitors. In general, some administrators allow VIP's carte blanche; others like to keep close tabs.

Special Problems

It is only natural that teachers will have many questions concerning the study generally and the role of the observers specifically. Individual teachers will be anxious for immediate judgments or suggestions relating to their practices and problems and it is important that we impress them with the notion that we are gathering information and ideas from them, not holding their program or performance up to some particular standard. During the earlier studies, such questions as the following were asked of the observers:

(1) Why was this school chosen?
(2) What will happen at the end of the study?
(3) Will their school be mentioned?
(4) Is this an evaluation of the school's English program?

In our correspondence with the schools, most of these questions have been answered, but individual teachers will still have various impressions of what we are doing. Consequently, at the group meeting with all English teachers at the close of the first day, it is well to explain our function and to allay any suspicions about our presence. However, during the course of the first day, or at any other time, if such questions as the above are put to the observers, they can usually be answered honestly but innocuously, *e.g.*:

(1) Schools were chosen for a variety of reasons, but largely on the recommendation of a British specialist in English teaching. I do not know exactly how this school was chosen.

(2) In the fall of 1967, a report will be submitted to the U.S. Office of Education. These reports will be available to all schools. Your school will be notified about this and will receive copies of all reports.

(3) Any official publication that comes from the study will mention the schools in lists or groups. If there is reason to single out schools for special mention, we will ask permission from the headmaster.

(4) This is not really an evaluation in the usual sense. We know in advance that there is something distinctive about the schools we are visiting, and we are not measuring your English program against some arbitrary standard.

PART II: ROLE OF THE OBSERVER

School Summary Forms

Despite the quantity of objective data that will be gathered from the numerous instruments, we are even more interested in observer's subjective reaction to the school, its teachers and its program as reflected in the summary forms which constitute the final report of the observers. These forms are important as aids in defining the function of the observer and should therefore be studied prior to the visit. What we are interested in obtaining during these visits is the function, the role, the point of view, the attitude of the students, teachers, administrators, departments. To a certain extent, these attitudes can be recorded on the interview sheets or observation cards, but the collective impression of the whole school can be realized only after the visit is completed, and thus, recorded only on the summary forms.

Particular attention must be called to the "Summary of Reaction to the School," for unless the observer knows the kind of judgments desired here, he will probably not consciously pursue the most meaningful points or asides during the interviews. The "Summary of Reaction" consists of seven questions, one question to each sheet. The seven questions to be answered are recorded here to give the observer some idea of the scope of our concern. In every case observers may wish to contrast what he finds with practices in American schools.

1. What is your dominant impression of the overall education program which you observed in the school?

2. In what way does the total program in English appear to be among the stronger or weaker aspects of the whole school program?

3. Insofar as you can determine, what seemed to be the basic attitude in the school toward the English program?

4. *What special strengths* of the English program seem worthy of comment?

5. What *overall weaknesses* in the program seemed apparent to you?

6. Characterize in as much detail as possible the *overall intellectual atmosphere of the school*.

7. *What unusual approaches or methods* were discovered? Refer to outstanding teachers.

Questions #4, #5, and #7 are fairly obvious and explicit items relating directly to the English department, but the others take one outside the English program and throw some light on the value of the interview with the headmaster, the department chairman, for in these interviews the opportunity to obtain these views is most readily available.

Similarly, the "Summary of Classroom Observation" should be closely studied in order to give the observer direction in observing classes, in order to orient his thinking and his note-taking.

Subjectivity *vs*. Objectivity

All of the schools included in this study are reported by British specialists in English to have distinctive programs in English. When asked about the selection of schools, the investigators are advised to stress the "reputation" of schools and such varied characteristics as size, location, socio-economic status, etc. In this respect, the observer must remain as neutral and objective as possible to avoid any possible intimidation of those in the schools.

This study, however, is based largely on the informed judgment of the observers. That is to say that although your façade will remain impeccably objective, your inner reactions should, and indeed ideally will, conform to your own concept of the ideal teaching situation. This is especially true of the observation cards and the summary analysis devices. We believe that for this study subjective analysis from trained professionals will yield more useful results, for example, than highly structured "objective" ratings, for while one who specializes in language will be especially sensitive to the content of the English language program, another will be particularly concerned with educational methodology, teaching devices and the apportionment of time, and so on, each observer bringing to the study the benefit of his speciality.

But intrinsic to our idea of the final reports of subject evaluations is the importance of two completely independent reactions to each school. We request that discussion of the school programs by the two visiting observers be confined to the area of what can be directly observed--to the procedures and activities that can be reported objectively and that inferences or judgments be deferred until the visitors combine efforts when completing the consensus report. Until then it is best that comments about the quality of instruction, etc., be kept private in spite of one's desire to express his opinions on what seem to him either amazing or shocking occurrences. The visitor must remember that although he travels with a colleague, he records as an independent observer. More than a committee report, we are interested in the more considered and perceptive reactions that only one individual can make.

Classroom Observation

During the visit to the average school an approximate total of twenty-two classes will be observed, and what transpires in this time will be recorded on the yellow classroom observation cards. Although many of the categories to be checked seem to be totally objective, much of the card remains subjective. For instance, what one observer records as "recitation" might be called "Socratic method" by another. Or there may be some debate as to what "formal" and what "informal speech" are. The continuity of the lesson will most often be inferred from what the observer presumes has happened before and what will happen after that day's session. The recording of the homework assigned or of the physical features of the classroom on the other hand is fairly straightforward.

The use of the observation card calls for a comment or two. The side with the name of the high school is to be filled out during the actual observation. The reverse side is to be filled out immediately after the particular observation has been concluded, either as classes are passing, or during the first few minutes of the following observation period. The information on both sides of the card is subject to frequency count, but the observer will still be asked at the end of the whole visit to record his collective opinion concerning the general tenor of classroom activity on one of the summary analysis sheets. (This instrument is explained in greater detail in Part III of this handbook.)

Interview Technique

The various interviews that are a part of this study are particularly valuable because they will collect data and opinion that are otherwise unavailable. It is very important that the interviewer attempt to elicit and record the candid observations and beliefs of teachers rather than obvious stock answers to questions. In some instances the interview will be the occasion when the teacher formulates ideas about teaching which he has not previously considered. The Interviewer must therefore exercise patience and reflect an attitude of acceptance rather than one of judgment and implied criticism in spite of what may appear at times to be arrant nonsense.

A previous knowledge of the questions, and to some extent the reasons for the questions, will be more than helpful. Though there is a certain logic in the order of the questions as they appear on the interview form, the general tenor of the interview itself might well make another order more reasonable and profitable. Any rearrangement of the interview plan before the investigator is familiar with its total content, however, might unnecessarily prolong the interview or create the possibility of omitting certain questions. Generally during the course of the interview some of the questions are anticipated by the teacher and answered well in advance of their appearance. At these times, the interviewer should try to turn to the corresponding question as unobtrusively as possible and record the answer in its proper place. In other instances it may be necessary to rephrase questions or tactfully to return the discussion to relevant matters.

The questions on the interview schedules have been carefully devised and we hope that each question will yield the maximum of useful material. We feel that each part of every question is important--that little has been added merely for the sake of window dressing.

If the interviews are used judiciously, they can yield more information than they seem to suggest. To use the Department Head Interview as an example, if the chairman responds quickly to Question #3 concerning how often the English teachers meet (e.g., "twice a month"), but balks visibly when he is requested to reveal the content of a few of the meetings in the previous year, we might not be unjustified in assuming that the meetings consisted of considerable routine patchwork. On the other hand, the chairman might respond quickly--almost too quickly--and give an answer that sounds like a stock response. In this case, the interviewer would do well to pursue the question and ask, as tactfully as possible for a specific example--some problem, perhaps, that came up and was handled within the last month or two. The type of response here is again important and will help in evaluating the resourcefulness and capability of the chairman.

Once the observer becomes familiar with the interview schedules, most of them can be utilized in this fashion to obtain these all-important attitudes, opinions, roles--the nature of the department, or the intellectual atmosphere of the whole school.

PART III: INSTRUMENTS

Identification and Explanation

Instrument	Observers	Explanation
Headmasters Interview	both	Time: administered upon arrival at school. Procedure: observers alternate asking questions and taking notes according to the Roman numerals in left hand margin. Interview with department should be arranged for that evening. (Assure headmaster that he need not be present.) Purpose: to obtain overall picture of school, to get inkling of particular areas to pursue in observation or interview. One of the few interviews giving total picture. Total time: one period.
Department Head Interview	both	Time: first day, most probably after the headmaster's interview. Procedure: alternate asking questions and recording as in headmaster's interview. At end, administer Concept Check List (verbally).
Concept Check List		Purpose: to determine role of chairman, overall view of structure in English department, certain distinctive features to be investigated, certain outstanding teachers to be interviewed--observed. Confirm English Department meeting after school and arrange for interviews with specialist pupils. The specialist pupil interviews must also be cleared through the individual teachers. Total Time: one period. NOTE: Many British chairmen may be alarmed at the notion that we "expect" the teaching of these concepts. Explain that, even though we know these are not entirely appropriate, we need to secure data comparable with that collected on American high schools.
Department Head Questionnaire	one	Procedure: These will be sent in advance to the department head about three weeks in advance of the visit and he will be requested to complete them and have them ready for observers. Ask about the questionnaire (give another copy if necessary) soon after arrival. Purpose: to obtain overall picture of the English program.

Instrument	*Observers*	*Explanation*
Librarian's Questionnaire	one	*Time*: first day. *Procedure*: may be used as an interview schedule if an interview seems profitable. *Purpose*: to determine character of library. straightforward, mostly objective data. *Total time*: 25-30 minutes.
Interview (specialist or advanced pupils)	one or both	*Time*: when convenient, preferably first day. *Procedure*: given to specialist or advanced group. Must be arranged in advance through department head or teacher. At beginning of class give out pupil questionnaire to be filled out as pupils assemble. Alternate asking questions and recording answers according to Roman numerals. Allow ten minutes (very important) at end of interview to administer *Concept Check List*. (verbally). Explain to pupils that these concepts are sometimes taught in American high schools and we want to see whether they know them.
Pupil Questionnaire		*Purpose*: to test students' reactions to English course, check their alertness, compare what teachers think they are learning to what pupils think they are learning. *Total time*: one period.
Selected Teacher Interview	one	*Time*: preferably second day, some on the first day. *Procedure*: to be administered to eight teachers singled out because of pupil comments, headmaster's or department head's citation or because they distinguished themselves during English department interview. At end, perhaps, make arrangements for teacher to administer *Reading Questionnaire*. *Purpose*: to determine the unique quality of each teacher, what the teacher finds particularly effective in teaching, what his views of modern and past trends are. *Total time*: + - one half period each.

Instrument	Observer	Explanation
Group Interview with all English teachers Issues Questionnaire Teacher Questionnaire	both	Time: after school on first day of visit. Procedure: at beginning, pass out Issues Questionnaire to be filled out as teachers arrive. Allow no more than 8-10 minutes for this. Administer interview. At end of time, ask for six (6) volunteers to administer Reading Questionnaire to the different streams. Announce that the Teacher Questionnaires have been or will be placed in their mail boxes or left with department head, depending on which process is more convenient. Briefly describe form and what is to be done with it. Purpose: to determine the stand of the department as a whole, to observe the interaction between teachers and department head. Scales at end of interview schedule will help observer record the general tone of the interview. Total time: + - one hour.
Reading Questionnaire	both	Six (6) packets of questionnaires will be administered to different streams and form levels by 3-6 teachers, to be collected by them and mailed to our London representative. Observers request volunteers for the six classes at end of Department Interview. Instructions for the teachers are included in each packet.
Pupil Writing Check List	one	Time: one or two hours of study of pupils' writing. Procedure: Ask the department head if you can examine some typical pupil papers with teacher comments. Examine and read the papers sufficiently to comment as necessary. Purpose: to obtain a general estimate of the nature of pupil's writing and of teacher annotations.
Classroom Visitation Card (small yellow card)		Each observer will be provided with quantities of these cards and one will be completed for each class that is observed during the two-day period. In general, the visitor should plan to stay for approximately helf of the period, but, as suggested in an earlier part of the handbook, there will be variations of this procedure. The first four lines can be filled in by the observer almost immediately, since these items are readily available and serve to identify the particular class. Categories A_____, C_____, T_____ will describe the kind of English class if the school exercises some kine of grouping according to ability, destination, etc. of its pupils. The letters stand

for: Advanced, College (or regular), and Terminal groups respectively. The school will more than likely have other designations for the groups, but the typical school has three streams (or kinds of groups) that will roughly correspond to these. The schedule of classes will usually reflect the kind of class by one device or another and a moment's consultation with the department head will clarify this issue. Daily or long range assignments should be noted as well as the texts that the class happens to be using. Salient features of the classroom such as the presence of room libraries, phonographs, recorders, projectors should also be noted under "Physical features." During the course of the visit, the observer should notice the kinds of books (particularly those that have no apparent relationship to the academic discourse in the class) that are being carried about by the pupils. Notation by type and title will be helpful.

As the class progresses, the visitor can begin filling in the last item on the front of the card and the first item on the back--describing in some detail the purpose and features of the lesson. Besides indicating whatever continuity is apparent, the observer can use any remaining space here for brief anecdotal records to remind him of the class later on when he is filling out the summary reports. At the end of the visit (or after leaving the classroom) the observer should check off the remaining items on the observation card. These items involve considerable judgment as to the content and method of instruction. At most, only three items should be indicated under each category--the one receiving the most emphasis should be designated 1, the item receiving the next emphasis should be designated 2, etc. Pupil involvement is indicated by circling the appropriate number on a diminishing scale, from 1 (completely involved) to 7 (wholly uninvolved).

These cards will be found most useful when the observer completes the visitation and begins to summarize his reactions and judgments for the final report forms. Since the information from these cards will be summarized by the project staff also, all of the cards should be returned with the packet.

Evaluative Reports

Besides the many instruments used to record data through interview and classroom observation, there are two final report forms which incorporate the visitor's final judgment on the school. These forms should be returned to the project office with the portfolio of questionnaires, interviews, and observation cards within a week after visitation. The sequence for completing the forms is indicated by the following order.

1. The Summary of Classroom Visitation

The first few items on this form may be completed simply by direct reference to the classroom visitation cards. Other items call for more reflection since they require judgments based on a variety of sights and insights collected during the two-day period. However, the form is straightforward. All evaluations can be indicated on five or seven point scales.

2. The Summary of Reaction to School

"The Summary of Reaction to School" has been described previously. This report provides the observer with an opportunity to record impressions and opinions concerning the school and its English program that cannot be indicated by check lists. Observers are invited to be as explicit and candid as possible here. Particular anecdotal records or candid observations will be useful in support of any final statements. If necessary, additional pages can be appended.

APPENDIX

For the guidance of observers, we reprint here the eight hypotheses concerning differences in the teaching of English between British and American high schools which we anticipate we may find. These hypotheses have resulted from a reading of professional periodicals concerning the teaching of English in England, conversations with British leaders, and pilot visits to two schools in the London suburbs. Observers are asked to bear these hypotheses in mind as they prepare their summary reports.

Anticipated Differences in British English Programs

(a) A deemphasis on teaching formal "subject matter" or "content" in English classes in the United Kingdom as compared with the practice in American schools.

(b) A greater concern in Britain with student response to literature and a corresponding lessening of concern with the planned study of great works and great authors. (In view of the widespread assumption that the British educational programs have produced "a nation of book readers," verification of this difference could raise some interesting questions concerning practices in the United States.)

(c) A greater emphasis in the United Kingdom on the creative uses of language (creative writing, dramatics, and similar student endeavor).

(d) A greater stress in the United Kingdom on the teaching of expository writing in all content areas of the curriculum, rather than in the English classroom alone.

(e) Comparatively little attention in Britain to formal instruction in rhetoric and in the English language (including grammatical analysis).

(f) Greater emphasis in British schools on the teaching of speech and oral English.

(g) Less communication in Britain than in the United States between high school teachers and scholars in university and college departments of English, with corresponding differences in preservice and continuing education of teachers of English.

(h) Greater reliance in Britain on the use of external examinations to control the quality of offerings; correspondingly less emphasis on prescribed courses of study and textbook adoptions for this purpose.